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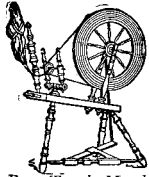
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The Outlook

JANUARY 29, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor



SPECIAL INTEREST VS. PUBLIC WELFARE

The political issue in Great Britain and that in America are in form very different but in essentials alike—the issue between special privilege and the popular welfare. In Great Britain the question is: Shall wealth pay a larger proportion of the expense of government than it has paid in the past? In America are two questions: Shall the public domain pass into private hands to be administered for private benefit, or remain the property of the public, subject to its control and administered for its benefit? and, Shall public corporations, especially public service corporations, be administered under the supervision of the Government and with regard to the welfare of the people? In both countries there is the same contention: That the land and its contents, like the air, the sunlight, the seas, and the navigable rivers, belong to the public. In America the public is attempting to retain its control and ownership of lands which it has not already alienated. In Great Britain it is attempting to impose on such lands a rent in the form of a land tax. In both countries also this simple question is complicated by a constitutional question. In Great Britain, this: Has the House of Lords a constitutional right to demand the reference to the people of a measure of taxation? In America, this: Has Congress a constitutional right to levy a tax on corporations which are created by the State? To give our readers the fullest and most accurate information possible on these issues, The Outlook has sent a member of its editorial staff to the storm-center in each country to investigate and report. One correspondent is in Great Britain studying the course of events

there; the other correspondent is in Washington studying the course of events there. Each of them will write with a perfectly free pen, untrammelled by instructions. The first letter from each of them appears in this issue of The Outlook. They will be followed by others in due season. Whatever The Outlook or its readers may think of the *opinions* of these correspondents, they may rest assured that the *facts* will be reported with accuracy, without fear or favor, and with a sincere and disinterested purpose to tell the exact truth.



THE UNITED STATES UNITING

Two gatherings in Washington last week were devoted to the difficult task of trying to induce forty-six different States to co-operate in certain common enterprises. The ordinary man with no more mental equipment than common sense might be supposed to ask if these States were not united already. In such a matter as this, however, mere common sense is not enough. There stands the Constitution, the bulwark of our liberties, and the States are not going to forget that. So, although the United States are united, they still have forty-six different ways of doing some things, and far too many ways of doing other things that they might a great deal better do alike. So forty-one Governors of forty-one States assembled in one conference, and a large number of delegates from various societies, called together by the National Civic Federation, assembled in another conference, to consider how and on what subjects these States might be induced to act uniformly. There are certain matters in which it is of real importance that all the laws in all the

States should be alike. One, for example, concerns the form of commercial papers, such as negotiable instruments, warehouse receipts, bills of lading, and the like. To have such forms vary in the different States means a waste of energy and an obstacle to trade. As a matter of fact, in thirty-eight States and Territories a Uniform Negotiable Instruments Act has been adopted, and other Uniform Acts of similar kind have been prepared and adopted in part by a smaller number. These acts, though they are of little general public interest, have proved very useful, and show that such uniform legislation is possible. They were adopted as the result of the work of commissioners, representing various States and Territories, who for the last nineteen years have been meeting annually. Other subjects for uniform legislation are now proposed. It is urged, for example, that the status of a married person ought to be the same in every State of the Union, and so that uniform marriage and divorce laws be passed; that it is unfair for one State to have labor laws which competing States do not have, and that therefore there should be some uniformity on such matters as employers' liability, child labor, women's hours of work, and the like. It has also been pointed out that groups of States having a common interest, for example in a watershed, should join in having common legislation. On this general principle of uniform legislation such a pronounced Federalist as President Taft, who addressed the National Civic Federation meeting, and such an extreme Anti-Federalist as Judge Parker (former Democratic candidate for the Presidency), who followed the President, agree. The chief topics for discussion, therefore, were the subjects for such legislation and the means of securing it. Of course there was a wide range of subjects. The Governors' Conference, which was a successor, so to speak, of the White House Conference called by President Roosevelt, was valuable chiefly in giving the Governors a chance to consult, exchange views, and instruct one another. The State of Montana and the State of New Jersey are foreign territory to each other so far as legislative experience is concerned. It is highly valuable that the chief executive of one should know

what the experience of the other has been. Every State is a legislative laboratory; the results of its laboratory experimentation should be known to the other States, so that they can save their time and money for experiments in other directions. Such a conference, particularly if it should be, as it doubtless will be, made permanent by the work of committees, can do great good by putting to the service of each State the experience of all, as well as by bringing about uniform statutes.



THE ADMINISTRATION'S CONSERVATION BILLS

Last week the first stage of the Administration's battle for the conservation of our natural resources began with the introduction into Congress of several measures which embody in detail the views suggested by the President in his recent Message on Conservation. The bills cover the survey and classification of public lands in the United States and in Alaska; the authorization of the Secretary of the Interior to make temporary withdrawals of areas of public lands, to provide for the conservation, development, use, and control of coal, oil, natural gas, asphalt, phosphate, and water power, to aid in the reclamation of arid lands, and the assignment of homestead entries within reclamation projects. Of these the bills relating to coal lands and water power have already aroused reactionary opposition, first, because the Administration's general plan is more radical than had been expected; second, because the President calls for action to apply to Alaska as well as to the United States. The Coal Lands Bill provides that all lands containing coal, lignite, or similar deposits not yet alienated and paid for shall be reserved; that any person or association may apply for the right to prospect or for a lease on any coal deposit owned by the United States not situated within twenty-five miles of any other land containing a coal deposit in which such person or association is interested; that on payment of a rental of not less than ten cents an acre the Secretary may grant a prospecting permit which shall give the right, for a period not to exceed one year in this country and two years in Alaska, to search for coal on

a specified area not exceeding 5,120 acres. If coal is found, the Secretary may lease not more than 2,560 acres, thus following the law applicable to Alaska of 1908. The first period of the lease shall not extend over thirty years, after which it may be extended ten years at a time. The payment is made to increase periodically. First of all there shall be a royalty of not over fifteen cents a ton. Then an annual rental is to be paid in advance as follows: for the first year, ten cents an acre; for the second, twenty-five cents; for the third, fifty cents; for the fourth, seventy-five cents; and thereafter one dollar a year. The bill further provides that covenants must be entered into between the applicants and the Secretary relating to mining methods and waste and the requirement of a certain amount of preliminary and annual development. What these covenants will be, in the restraint of conspiracy and monopoly, may be gathered from Secretary Ballinger's report. Furthermore, as in the Water Power Bill, the Secretary shall stipulate in the original contract for maximum prices beyond which the products of the mine and of the electricity generated from the water power sites shall not be sold to the consumer. The Water Power Bill is specially interesting in that, following the plan outlined in Secretary Ballinger's annual report, all the water rights acquired by the applicant shall be made appurtenant to the lands and conveyed to the United States. The maximum horse-power capable of development at the power site having been determined, and also the applicant's ability to develop it, he may be granted a maximum lease of forty years, thus following the Oregon law. The lessee may be allowed five years in which to construct works and lines. On a new appraisalment there may be a renewal for forty years. The fee, which may be increased every ten years, shall be calculated on the electrical horse-power developed, or on hydraulic horse-power in case there is no transmission into electrical horse-power. The bills themselves are impressive in manner as well as in matter, for the Administration has not merely inspired them, it has actually written out their text, its agents being Secretary Ballinger and Attorney-General Wickersham.

THE PRESIDENT'S TARIFF PROCLAMATION

Last week President Taft issued a proclamation declaring that, under the new tariff law, England, Italy, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, and Turkey are entitled to the minimum rate imposed by that act. The Payne Law, approved August 5, 1909, authorized a general tariff to be called a minimum tariff. It was to be applicable to all countries to April 1, 1910. If, meanwhile, from satisfactory evidence, the President should decide that any country was unduly discriminating against America, that country might expect to have imposed upon its exports on arriving in America a supplementary tariff of twenty-five per cent *ad valorem*. In the list of countries doing business with ours, satisfactory evidence has now been presented that the Governments of the above-mentioned six countries are imposing no unduly discriminating restrictions in their tariff rates or regulations upon the importation of our products into those countries; furthermore, that these Governments countenance no unduly discriminating export bounty, export duty, or prohibition as affecting us. Hence, provided that no changes are made by these Governments unduly discriminating against our commerce, the President proclaims that the six Governments shall be admitted to our minimum tariff. In this connection it is interesting to note the total trade of the six countries with the United States. England's trade with us exceeds \$800,000,000, and Italy's \$100,000,000; Russia's is not quite \$40,000,000, Switzerland's is about \$33,000,000 and Spain's about \$30,000,000, while Turkey's is something over \$3,000,000. In this list, as in the complete list of countries, England is by far our largest customer. Germany comes next. Of course the Administration expects to issue proclamations admitting various countries to the minimum tariff as rapidly as possible, extending it to as many countries as practicable, and, if possible, to all. The two European countries on the doubtful list are Germany and France. Among those now named by Mr. Taft are some which, enjoying our minimum tariff, might put Germany and France at a disadvantage if the latter, because of the imposition upon them of our maximum tariff, were engaged in a

tariff war with us. This applies patently to the case of England, for England exports some of the articles which we buy from Germany. It also applies to the cases of Italy and Spain, for they export some of the articles which we buy from France.

GERMANY AND OUR TARIFF

Will Germany ultimately obtain our minimum tariff? That is the principal tariff question of the moment. The reciprocal tariff arrangement with the German Government by which, in return for certain concessions, we obtain the benefit of the German minimum tariff, comes to an end on February 7. Many Germans hold that their Government has, first, no right longer to continue its minimum tariff to America, the previous concessions having been confessedly temporary; and, second, has every right to maintain its exclusion of American meats. Of the two issues, the meat restriction is the most discussed. Germany declares that her restrictions upon meat importation are the same for all countries, and that the barring of American meat is no undue discrimination, since meats from other overseas countries are likewise barred. If we concede this point, Germany might grant to the United States the concessions which now obtain under the reciprocal agreement soon to expire. Then, even if we canceled all our concessions given to Germany in return, but accorded to German products our minimum rates, there would seem to be a way out of the difficulty. In any event, the German point of view should be thoroughly understood in this country; namely, a disposition to surrender on many points of difference, but a firm stand in the matter of the admission of meat, the reason assigned being that public opinion in Germany will not sanction any abatement of the severe regulations, as these regulations are based upon health rules. In the event of a tariff war with Germany it will be interesting to note the kind of imports affected. The chief imports from Germany are chemicals, cotton goods, earthen, stone, and china ware, fertilizers, furs, manufactures of glass, hides, hops, cutlery, manufactures of iron and steel, gloves, seeds, toys, and manufactures of wood. The chief articles

of export from the United States to Germany are agricultural implements, grain, flour, copper, unmanufactured cotton, hardware, pumps, sewing-machines, shoe machinery, typewriters, oil and oil products, and tobacco. The significant thing about the above lists, however, is the fact that we import nearly \$150,000,000 worth of goods from Germany, but that we export to Germany almost double that value. What do our merchants think of the possibility of losing \$300,000,000 of trade for the sake of "protecting" our manufacturers against \$150,000,000 of German imports?

"I DON'T BUY MEAT; DO YOU?"

More than a million persons, it is said, are now actively interested as abstainers from meat-eating in various parts of the country in an associated attempt to reduce food prices by boycott. The movement started in Cleveland. While, according to despatches, meat in Cleveland local retail stores was not affected in price by the increase in the number of abstainers to 60,000, veal was offered to the big restaurants at eleven cents a pound instead of fourteen, the prevailing price recently. The despatches further report that, though the big Cleveland wholesalers say they do not fear the strike, the Cleveland Provision Company, operating a slaughter-house and twenty-seven retail stores, has laid off one-third of its staff of wagon-drivers who were engaged in delivering meat from the yards to the shops. The movement has now spread to other Ohio cities, especially as Governor Harmon has been reported to declare that a food trust is "gobbling excessive profits" somewhere between the producer and the consumer and that the Legislature might be called upon to hunt the trust out and exhibit it to the people. As might be expected, the boycott has also appeared in those cities where there are large packing interests, like Chicago, Kansas City, and Omaha. In the last-named place the Central Labor Union has taken up the campaign. In Kansas City the boycott is growing among the labor unions, especially among the bricklayers, carpenters, and railway men. In Chicago the Federation of Labor is interested in the movement. The packers in these cities declare

that they would not be paying eight or nine cents a pound for hogs if they could be purchased for six or seven cents, that skilled labor is receiving high wages, that its purchasing power is larger than ever before. The movement is now noticeable in such far-apart places as St. Louis, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Richmond, and Baltimore. At the last-named place five thousand buttons inscribed "I don't buy meat; do you?" have been distributed to various unions, where they will be given out to members who take the pledge. It is possible, of course, temporarily to lower the price of meat by such wholesale abstention. It is also possible thus to start a permanent reform of personal extravagance in living. Another method, however, of lowering the cost of living should not pass unnoticed. That method does not involve lessening the demand but increasing the supply. Our farms produce too little per acre. Mr. James J. Hill has repeatedly shown that the average farm may, by a system of crop rotation, be made to double its average crops. This is proved by the "railway farms" conducted as object-lessons by the New York Central, Northern Pacific, and other railways. Mr. Howard Elliot, President of the Northern Pacific, thus speaks, as reported, of his company's farms: "On five experimental farms conducted by our company such land [formerly grazing land] produces forty bushels [of wheat] to the acre. It is the right approach to the problem of feeding 90,000,000 people."



THE ENGLISH ELECTIONS

The Parliamentary elections are still in progress in England, and it is too early to sum up the results of the campaign or to endeavor to point out in detail the significance of the results as indicating the English political opinion on the reconstruction of the House of Lords or the tariff question. Of the 670 members of the House of Commons, 420 have been elected at this writing. In order to secure a majority in the House of Commons, it is necessary for the Unionists to gain 168. They have gained less than one-half that number—about sixty in all. The new House of Commons, so far as elected, stands: Liberals, 150; National-

ists, 58; Laborites, 31; Unionists, 181. In the county of London the Unionists appear to have gained about fifteen seats. In the manufacturing districts the Conservatives have gained a few seats; and nearly all the great centers of industry returned the Liberal candidates by large although reduced majorities, with the exception of several seaport towns, where sentiment was affected by fear of a weakened navy. The Conservative gains were larger in the small Cathedral towns, which are normally Conservative. The popular vote in England appears to be about equally divided between the two parties. Scotland, on the other hand, supported the Liberal Ministry by large majorities. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain was the first member elected to the new Parliament, in which he will perhaps, owing to illness, never take his seat. Mr. Balfour was returned by a handsomely increased vote. The Prime Minister and several other members of the Cabinet have been re-elected. Mr. Winston Churchill secured an increased majority in his Scotch constituency. Great interest centered in the contest of Mr. John Burns for the Battersea district in London, a district made up largely of workingmen. Since his accession to office Mr. Burns has struck a more conservative note, and some of the more radical leaders of the Labor party, all the Socialists, and demagogues of every type have attacked him with great bitterness. Fears were expressed that these attacks would disturb the confidence of his constituents in the sincerity of his devotion to the interests of the working classes. Mr. A. Shirley Benn, who ran against him, has very important business interests in the section, and for the last four years has been making a skillful and highly organized campaign to win political favor. At the last election he was returned as the representative of his district on the London County Council by a great majority. He has been one of the most capable advocates of protection. The return of Mr. Burns, therefore, in a hotly contested fight by a majority nearly three times as large as the normal majority, shows that these assaults have been ineffective. Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd-George have been in the thick of the fight from the beginning, and have

maintained a most aggressive leadership of the Liberals. Mr. Lloyd-George, although Chancellor of the Exchequer, has apparently discredited the conventional restraint of that office, and has gone into the campaign in his shirt-sleeves, so to speak. His attacks on the House of Lords have been bitter, at times not lacking in a touch of the demagogue, and he has been attacked as a visionary and a demagogue. His career shows, however, that he is neither a dreamer nor a destructionist. In the very important position of President of the Board of Trade he has stood for practical and constructive legislation. Readers of *The Outlook* have not forgotten the skill and promptness with which he settled the strike of 300,000 cotton workers, nor his success in persuading the railway directors to agree upon terms with the railway workers when the whole British railway system was in danger of suspension. He secured the passage of the Patents Act, which has resulted in the opening of hundreds of new factories and the starting of new industries. He passed the Merchant Shipping Act, which has been of the greatest assistance to British shipping; and his history as a public man, although showing an occasional lack of restraint in expression, has been one of constructive legislation. The elections which have so far taken place indicate a greatly reduced Liberal majority in the next House of Commons, but one sufficiently large to enable the Ministry to carry through its measures. They indicate also the somewhat reluctant acceptance by the English people of the Budget, their repudiation of the claim of the House of Lords to interfere with fiscal legislation, and their determination to maintain free trade in Great Britain.

**TRADE UNION
REPRESENTATION IN THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS**

The English Labor party has found itself to some extent hampered in the present elections by a recent decision of the House of Lords, sitting as the highest law court in the land, which forbids the trade unions to raise money by compulsory assessments on their members for the payment of salaries to Labor Members of Parliament who should sign an agreement to act with the Labor

party organization and "be subject to their whip." As our readers know, Members of Parliament receive no compensation from the nation; Labor Members are usually not rich; they must be supported either by voluntary contribution from the members of the trade union or by assessments enforced on these members by union discipline. The point has now been passed upon three times, first by the Court of Chancery, which decided in favor of the union; second by the Court of Appeal, which pronounced against them; and finally by the House of Lords, which took the same view. One result may be an active support by the trades unions of a measure providing salaries from the national treasury for all Members of Parliament. But even in the recent adverse decision the variety of grounds taken by several of the Lords who sat as judges showed a broadening view of the rights of the trades unions, and therefore another possible outcome is the support of a law which would specifically legalize what is now, by this decision, forbidden. The main objection to the course of the unions was the restriction placed on the action of a member who should definitely pledge his obedience to party dictation. Several of the judges in the three different courts held that the unions had a perfect right to use their funds for political purposes within proper limits, although others dissented from even this view. Lord James of Hereford and Lord Shaw, in two of the five opinions rendered in the House of Lords, admitted in effect that it might well be in the interests of trade unionism and of labor that the funds of a trade union should be devoted to the payment of the expenses of a Member of Parliament who should represent such interests; but that, as Lord James held, the binding of the Member to follow the party whip would compel him to forego his own judgment in all matters, many of which might not be connected with the interest of the trades unions; or that, as Lord Shaw held, to send a Member to the House of Commons under a contract to support any political party was contrary to the British Constitution and a danger to free Parliamentary government. Though the dismissal of the appeal was unanimous, the law lords were by no means agreed

on the reasons for this dismissal; and the fact that Parliamentary representation of trade unions was held to be legal in two out of five opinions has greatly encouraged that section of the Labor party which is looking to a repetition of the procedure followed after the Taff Vale decision, and which desires an amendment of the law which will place the unions on a secure basis.

JOAQUIM NABUCO

The most important among diplomatic representatives at Washington from South America has passed away. Joaquim Nabuco died last week. He was born sixty years ago at Recife, Brazil, a place bearing the name of that Marquis of Recife who, in 1824, saved Brazil's national unity. Joaquim Nabuco was the Marquis's great-nephew and was the son of Senator Nabuco, who had been chief of the Brazilian Liberals in the reign of Dom Pedro II. Not only Joaquim Nabuco's father but also his grandfather and his great-grandfather were Senators, so, when he entered Parliament, he represented in it the fourth generation of his name, the only such instance in the Brazilian Empire. The first notable contribution of the latest bearer of the name Nabuco to his Government was his active part in the abolition of slavery, to which he devoted himself long and unremittingly. In 1876 he entered diplomacy, and in that year came for the first time to Washington. He was then an attaché of the Brazilian Legation. Returning to his country on his election to Parliament, he devoted himself to legislative labors, and was regarded as one of the Empire's most intelligent supporters. In 1889 the Empire came to an end. A Republic was proclaimed. Still an Imperialist, Senhor Nabuco now spent ten years in writing a constitutional history of Brazil and in publishing much verse which insures a high place for his name in the poetry of the Portuguese language. Finally reconciling himself with the Republic, he offered to serve his country, and the offer was gladly accepted. He was appointed special commissioner to represent Brazil in the arbitration of her boundary dispute with British Guiana. In 1901 he was made Minister to England, and in 1905 Ambassador to the

United States, being the first Ambassador to this country from South America. Since then his influence towards the spread of Pan-Americanism in general, and a good understanding between North and South America in particular, has been second only to Mr. Root's. Senhor Nabuco was President of the Third Pan-American Conference; it met in 1906 at Rio de Janeiro. He was also a member of the Hague Court of Arbitration. Washington will miss his tall figure, to which his cheery, ruddy face, his white hair and mustache, and his alert, almost youthful carriage, lent a peculiar attractiveness. His manner indicated a purely spontaneous courtesy, and this was emphasized by a command of languages which made him a welcome speaker at many conferences, no matter what the linguistic medium. Aside from other works, he has left such a remarkable record of proficiency in French—the volume entitled “*Pensées Detachées et Souvenirs*”—as to lead academicians to suppose that it had been written by one whose native tongue was French. As a diplomat at Washington, Senhor Nabuco showed far-sightedness in all that tends towards international conciliation and progress. As is appropriate on the death of such a diplomat, our Government tendered the use of an armored cruiser to transport the remains to Brazil. As a further mark of respect, and as an evidence of our Government's esteem, all available troops of the regular army near Washington took part in the funeral ceremonies.

THE CHASE EXHIBITION

At the National Arts Club, New York City, there is an exhibition of the works of Mr. William M. Chase which gives to the lover of American art a survey of its development. For Mr. Chase is now almost a veteran. He is sixty years old. He was born fifteen years later than Whistler and seven years earlier than Sargent, the two American contemporaries with whose work his is most frequently compared. The present exhibition is pleasantly retrospective. It discloses all phases of the development of a painter who, like many another American, had acquired his art education in the

Munich school of deep shadows, bitumen, and heavy brushwork, under the direction of Karl von Piloty. The pictures at the Arts Club show how Mr. Chase has emancipated himself from that influence in achieving his present lightness of touch. As one glances at the mass of canvases one is struck, first of all, by their brilliant harmony of tone. This is often evident even in the still-life pieces, though of course not so evident as in Mr. Chase's portraits and landscapes. It is as a portrait painter, we think, that he will stand out most prominently in the history of American art. In this field he is specially well represented at the Arts Club, for surely he never executed works of greater boldness and vigor than the "Ready for a Ride," nor of more delicacy and distinction than the small portrait of his mother and the large "Portrait of a Lady in a White Shawl." In viewing the Chase portraits two impressions come to the observer: first, a notably firm modeling; and, second, a vital characterization. This is particularly the case with the artist's portraits of children and young folk, where his zest, buoyancy, and sympathy find free, facile touch and vivid expression. In the portraits of older folk mere technique sometimes forges to the fore. Sometimes there seems an over-emphasis on craftsmanship. One misses the emphasis which a Whistler, for instance, might lay upon the psychological. But Whistler carried this to such a subtle pitch as to seem merely an "indoors" painter. Mr. Chase, on the other hand, seems in his vivacious portraits, like his friend Señor Sorolla, a robust if at times unidealistic "outdoors" painter. In this regard the landscapes challenge attention. Who has immortalized the transcendent beauty of summer afternoons among the Shinnecock Hills as has Mr. Chase? All Americans can be as proud as he must be that the Italian Government has asked him to paint his own portrait to hang in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence in the famous category of self-painted portraits of artists there. We hope that the Chase portrait will be such a touch-and-go stroke of genius as Mr. Sargent's recent portrait of Mr. Chase was regarded. Both men hark back to Velasquez—the great master of all realists. But to the

Velasquez style both Sargent and Chase have added a distinctly American something—the nervousness, crispness, intensity of American life. And that makes American art.



THE LAYMEN'S UPRISING

Religious fraternalism on a world-wide scale was impressively exhibited in the city of New York during the three closing days of the fortnight of meetings held by the band of influential laymen now engaged in rousing the churches to rise to great opportunities in the foreign missionary field. The great snow-storm of January 14 did not hinder eighteen hundred men from assembling at dinner in the great hall of the Hotel Astor to support the undertaking to put thirty million dollars this year into the advancement of Christian missions throughout the world. "Salvationers" is the humorous epithet given to these men by one of the daily newspapers. Salvation in the broadest human sense of the word is their object, through schools and hospitals as well as preaching, renovating social environment as well as individual character, uplifting nations from moral torpor into moral vigor. Urging the present opportunity for this, Mr. John R. Mott, the statesmanlike head of the World Student Christian Federation, said: "Within the next five years you will see that China will have reached the development that Japan has accomplished in the last forty years." On the following day came meetings in the churches, and on Sunday afternoon such a meeting in the Hippodrome as New York had never seen—three thousand men, men only, men enthusiastically responding to inspiring addresses made by laymen only, while many clergymen sat silent and happy on the crowded platform. The scene impressively suggested what reserves of power in the churches can be brought into the field for a great cause. The meeting culminated in the adoption by a standing vote of a resolution to raise \$725,000 this year for foreign missions—an increase by the city churches of \$325,000 on last year's offerings. The logic with which laymen put this matter to laymen is prosaically plain: Can we cover the non-Christian world with a truly Christian

civilization? It is a business proposition. It is a big thing to do. But we *can*, if we will. We *ought* to; so we *will*. With this argument the color-bearers of the Laymen's Movement are moving on from city to city. The complete result will be reported from some seventy cities at a National Missionary Congress in Chicago early in May, and thence in June to the Ecumenical Missionary Conference in Edinburgh, to inspire Christian forces throughout the world.



A FAITHFUL SERVANT

It is a great misfortune that misdeeds are so prominently reported and good deeds so generally passed in silence; that bad men and women are so dramatically described, while good men and women remain largely unnoticed. Publicity is hated by many of those whose lives would bring aid and comfort to every good cause. It is certainly inverting the order of things that examples of evil should be always before us in the daily press and examples of good so conspicuous by reason of their absence. New York has recently lost from among its most intelligent workers a woman of modest spirit and temper who has laid the metropolis under lasting obligations. Miss Evangeline E. Whitney, District Superintendent in the public school system of New York, was born in Ohio, graduated from Oberlin College, and began her career as a teacher in a small school in Brooklyn. She afterwards was advanced to the position of assistant principal, then of principal, and in 1898 she was elected Assistant Superintendent in Brooklyn. On the revision of the city Charter, eight years ago, she became a District Superintendent, and was assigned by Dr. Maxwell to the direction of the work in vacation schools and playgrounds and recreation centers. In her work as principal and teacher Miss Whitney had the gift of vitalizing everybody within the sphere of her influence and of freshening all those who worked under and about her. An educator of the highest position has recently said that the results of the teaching in the schools she supervised have probably never been surpassed in New York. The finest work of her life came at the end, and in the direction of

the work of vacation schools and playgrounds. Last summer the average daily attendance was 110,000, largely the result of the thorough organization of the playground and recreation activities of the Board of Education in the metropolis—an organization so thorough that it has undoubtedly assured the permanency of these activities. Miss Whitney was both loyal to her superior officers and independent in her judgment. She could be neither cajoled nor coerced into doing anything which swerved a hair's breadth from the straight line of what she believed to be right. She backed her keen natural intuition with remarkable judgment, and she had the gift of recognizing what each teacher under her could do best and bringing the teacher and the opportunity together. It is by such workers, serving without applause and with moderate remuneration, that the higher life of a city is maintained.



A CHILD LABOR CONFERENCE

Mrs. Florence Kelley, looking over the audience at one of the meetings of the sixth annual conference of the National Child Labor Committee, just held in Boston, remarked that she seemed to see the same old faces and to hear many of the same old facts as at similar conferences in the past. Yet this Conference was in some ways a distinct advance upon those that have gone before, because on this occasion some of the forces which are ranged against child labor reform were presented on the programme. On the opening day, for instance, the general topic was "Child-Employing Agencies." And no merely academic treatment of the subject followed. The leading speaker was John Golden, of Fall River, President of the United Textile Workers of America, who stated very bluntly that the reason child labor exists is because it is cheap and because it is unresisting; children do not organize. He added that an awakening in this whole matter is particularly "up to" New England, for the reason that that section, having some time since lost its leadership in the matter of advanced child-labor legislation, is now retarding Southern progress. A children's bureau Mr. Golden charac-

terized as "not a proposition but a necessity. And if there be any industry," he continued, "that cannot survive without exploiting the child, let it go from our midst; we are better without it. We hear much about the conservation of natural resources, but the most holy work is the conservation of our human resources." Charles F. Smith, a hardware manufacturer of New Britain, Connecticut, speaking of "False Economic Ideas," gave an interesting account of the way his firm had been able to "work on the side of the angels without having it cost them anything." The relative economy of the boy of fourteen and of his older brother has not been adequately investigated by manufacturers, it was pointed out, as the relative value of different machines has been. But in Mr. Smith's factory they have proved that a larger wage paid to a boy of sixteen is a better investment than a boy of fourteen at any price. Among his two thousand operatives there are four hundred minors, none of them under fourteen. He advanced the hope that our future captains of industry may be taught in the technical schools how to deal with the human element in the factory. One of the stirring addresses of the Conference was that made by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, pastor of the Church of the Messiah, New York. His topic was "The Indifference of the Church and of Moral Forces." In answering his own question, Why? he named as the three reasons: (1) The crying evil of denominationalism; (2) the concern of the Church about the next world as over against this world; and (3) the devotion of the Church to foreign missions, to the neglect of home missions. The speaker further accused the Church of being a class institution, and maintained that the very men who are responsible for child labor are now sitting down in the front pews of many of our churches prepared to turn out of his pulpit the minister who disturbs their complacency. "What we need to-day," he concluded, "is a new Protestant reformation, a new Martin Luther. It is because I believe that such a reformation is even now upon us, though, that I am in the Church." For the closing session of the Conference ex-Governor Guild, of Massachusetts,

was the speaker, and the message he brought was that of the duty of Massachusetts to advocate strenuously the five specific reforms that are to be presented in the present Legislature. These embody the following propositions: A shorter day's work for children between fourteen and sixteen; abolition of night work between fourteen and sixteen; health certificates for factory employment; prohibition of employment in dangerous trades; and regulation of children in street trades.



THE OPEN-AIR TREATMENT FOR CHILDREN

Mankind's sympathy responds with almost unflinching promptitude to the sufferings of children, made tenfold more appealing when to ills of the flesh are added the hardships of poverty; for the horizon of childhood is so contracted as to admit scarcely any outlook of memory or hope. Yet there is oftentimes a bright side to even these hard conditions. Through many avenues of usefulness, happily widening nowadays, relief and cheer are brought into the lives of little sufferers. Such an avenue is the Home in Wellesley (Hills), Massachusetts, for convalescent children from the Boston City Hospital, and its history and methods may well be recorded in some detail because of their value as an example and aid to others. When the Boston Children's Hospital was founded, in 1869, a number of women actively interested in the hospital organized to assist the work by supplying the institution with linen, clothing, and other necessities. This Aid Association was incorporated in 1885 under the name of the Convalescent Home of the Children's Hospital, Boston, and a house in Wellesley—fifteen miles from Boston—was purchased and equipped as hospital and country home whither convalescing children might be sent from the city hospital wards and given a longer lease of care before being returned to their homes. Constantly since the start the work of the Convalescent Home has increased. The headquarters, removed in 1892 from Wellesley Center to the Hills section of the town, and twice enlarged, were in 1903 destroyed by fire—fortunately with no loss of life. Temporary shelter was found until the completion, in 1905, of the pres-

ent Home, a spacious fireproof brick building, modern in all details of sanitation and equipment. This well-proportioned, wide-winged house, standing remote from the highway, surrounded by broad fields, with great fir trees in the distance, gives immediate impression of admirable adaptation to its purpose. The house plan includes a large wood-finished play-room with its wide open-air platform and pavilion extensions and the shacks for tubercular patients. The beds in the Home are equally divided between the surgical and the medical convalescents. Memorial beds, fifteen in number, have been endowed by persons especially interested in the work. The sum of \$500 annually provides for the maintenance of each bed. Last year the average daily number of patients treated was 56. Last month (November) the daily average reached 64, and throughout 1909 the average has been about ten per cent higher than last year. The Home has become an important adjunct to the Boston City Hospital. Open air, good food, and judicious attention combine to work wonders for the children sent here. The Convalescent Home was the first institution to introduce the shack system of treatment, now so highly recommended by physicians. The shacks provided—there are thus far four—are finished in wood throughout. Windows and doors, together with roof-slides adjustable by pulleys, give abundant cross-ventilation. After being all day in the fresh air of the play-room, children of tubercular disposition are put to sleep at night in these shacks. There must needs be furnace-heat to offset the extreme of temperature during long, cold nights, and the consequent added expense for fuel is a serious matter.



MAKING CHILDREN HAPPY

The strongest argument in favor of extending the beneficent work of such a Home is the sight of these many little patients, often helplessly quiet because of distorted spines and bandaged limbs. The depression of seeing such an aggregate of human woe wears away and is almost vanquished by thankfulness for the care and comfort that are being be-

stowed in the Home. All the children are convalescent. There are hope, potential health, and a possible happy future for each one of these little mortals. Before each meal they sing heartily their simple grace:

“Thank Him, thank Him,
All ye little children;
Praise Him, praise Him,
God is love.”

There are few restless or discontented faces to be found among the children, though they are often overmature with the dismal precocity arising from poverty. The able-bodied amuse themselves with books, toys, and games in the pleasant play-room or out of doors; the helpless ones lie in little pathetic heaps on tables, push-carts, or chairs. From the children themselves come the most convincing proofs of the Home's tonic influence. They gather around the wistful newcomer with eager words about the kind treatment and the good times they have. The older children often help the younger ones, and this spirit of helpfulness is judiciously encouraged. Recently two new, homesick boys started to run away; they were duly captured and brought back, and after a few days one of them said to the superintendent: “Geel! It's lucky we were caught; it's just grand here.” Kindergarten lessons—which the children love—are given four afternoons in the week. Sand-piles, toys, and picture-books are provided, likewise Fourth-of-July ice-cream and strawberries, and a Thanksgiving dinner. But Christmas is the chief holiday of all. A Christmas tree is furnished each year by the board of managers, and each member of the board is given a present made by the kindergartners, who also sing Christmas hymns and carols. The work of the Convalescent Home is absolutely non-sectarian; no distinction exists as to creed or nationality. The need is all in all. A nominal charge is made for board and care, but if the parent or guardian be unable to pay, no difference is made in the conscientious attention bestowed upon the child. At least a hundred children could be accommodated here if there were sufficient income for their maintenance. It is the old story of expenditure being heavily in excess of income.

THE PRESIDENT AND CONGRESS

The President has declared that to reserve the public domain for the benefit of the public requires Congressional legislation; and he has laid before Congress certain special acts which he recommends it to adopt for that purpose. But the passage of these bills alone is not sufficient. The country must have assurance that the Department which is intrusted with the execution of these laws is honest and efficient. Conservation of our National resources requires both wise legislation and efficient administration.

I. Every man is to be presumed innocent until he is proved guilty. General charges, however specific in newspapers and magazines, are not proof. This presumption in the case of the Interior Department is strengthened by the unquestionable fact that some of the charges against it have already been proved groundless. This presumption is further strengthened by the fact that some of the charges have been considered by the President and pronounced unfounded. Nevertheless, justice to Mr. Ballinger no less than justice to the public demands that they be subjected to a searching and impartial investigation. Such an investigation can be provided only by Congress, which has power to compel attendance of witnesses and production of papers. It is promised by Congress. The personnel of the committee appointed to conduct it gives the country assurance that nothing will be wanting to make it searching and impartial, animated neither by a purpose to convict nor to acquit, but by a purpose only to ascertain the whole truth. This both Mr. Ballinger and the country have demanded; this they both have a right to expect.

II. The call of the President for such legislation as is necessary to preserve for the benefit of the public the public resources, and to bring the great corporations under Government regulation and control, is not merely the President's call. It is the call of the country. The Republican platform for 1908 was sufficiently explicit on this subject, one would think, to be comprehended by the most strenuous Congressional opponent of National legislation

for National conservation. That platform said:

We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our natural resources contained in previous platforms, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party, and to that end we insist upon the preservation, protection, and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for home-seekers, the protection of the National resources in timber, coal, iron, and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power, and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force from the control of monopoly; and, to such end, we urge the exercise of all powers, National, State, and municipal, both separately and in co-operation.

On this platform and to carry out this policy the Republican Administration and the Republican Congress were elected. No man has a right to call himself a Republican who is in Congress and is not working loyally for this end. He may think what he likes about the House rules and Mr. Cannon; he may be a regular or an insurgent; he may think what he likes about the Pinchot-Ballinger controversy; he may be a Pinchot man or a Ballinger man; but he is not a Republican unless he is in favor of whatever legislation may be necessary for "the preservation, protection, and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for home-seekers, the protection of the National resources in timber, coal, iron, and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways, . . . the development of water power, and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force from the control of monopoly." It was to carry out this policy that the President and the Congress were elected. For a Republican Congressman to hinder or thwart this policy of National conservation is for a trustee to be false to the trust which he has been appointed to administer. For him to be indifferent and apathetic is for a trustee to be indifferent and apathetic in the duty which he has undertaken to discharge and in the care of interests which have been intrusted to him.

This is not saying that Congress is bound to pass the specific bills which have

been drafted by Secretary Ballinger and Attorney-General Wickersham. It is not saying that the special measures proposed for carrying out this general policy of National conservation are the best possible measures. They may be too drastic. They may be inadequate. There are questions which the Congress has a right to consider, a duty to consider with an open mind. But no Republican Congressman has a right to consider with an open mind whether any measures for the protection of the public domain for the public welfare ought to be adopted. He was elected for the purpose of passing such measures. This is what he was sent to Congress for. And if he does not approve the measures which the President has proposed, he is under obligation to his constituents to propose better measures in their place.

Whatever may be the merits of the so-called Pinchot-Ballinger controversy, on this subject of National conservation the two men are at one. The measures submitted by the President are the measures of Mr. Ballinger. "What I have said," says the President in his special Message, "is really an epitome of the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior in respect to the future conservation of the public domain, in his present annual report." These recommendations of specific measures for carrying out the policy to which the Republican Administration and the Republican Congress are pledged, indorsed by the President, are also indorsed by Mr. Pinchot. Speaking from the same platform on which the President had just spoken last week, Mr. Pinchot said to the National Civic Federation: "Now is the time for all good men to come to the help of the conservation movement, without regard to party or prejudice or any personal consideration whatever. . . . The great principles we have been working for may be written in our laws now. For the second time the President of the United States has indorsed these principles in a Message to Congress. Specific bills have been prepared embodying the recommendations of the Message. The President urges that the measures that he recommends shall be taken up and disposed of promptly, without awaiting the investigation which has

been determined upon. I echo his desire."

The desire of Mr. Pinchot is the demand of the country. It is the most immediate and the most pressing duty of the Republican Congress.



POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS

Mr. John Harsen Rhoades, a trustee of the Greenwich Savings Bank in New York City, one of the strongest institutions of its kind in the country, discusses on another page the question of Postal Savings Banks. He recognizes the need, as every reasonable man must, of some definite action which shall promote the habit of saving among people of small income; but he opposes the establishment of Postal Savings Banks for two reasons: First, because the United States Government cannot properly invest the enormous sum which would be committed to its care in the form of savings. Second, because the most effective way to deal with the people's savings is to enlarge and extend the system of benevolent savings banks. We take issue with him on both these grounds.

Is there any hope that by private initiative or independent State action the present system of savings banks, which is now totally inadequate to the needs of the people, can be extended to meet those needs? The history of the savings bank clearly answers this question in the negative. While many commercial banks, private and public, receive deposits and pay interest thereon as a part of their business, there are only actually a little over six hundred genuine savings banks in the entire United States. By a genuine savings bank we mean one which is established by law, not to make a profit for its owners, but for the sole benevolent purpose of receiving, guarding, and paying interest on the savings of industry. Of the six hundred and odd banks existing purely for saving, and for no other purpose, eighty-eight are in Connecticut, two in Delaware, fifty-one in Maine, one hundred and eighty-four in Massachusetts, seven in Minnesota, fifty-five in New Hampshire, twenty-five in New Jersey, one hundred and thirty-eight in New York, ten in Pennsylvania, sixteen

in Rhode Island, thirty-five in Vermont, and three in Wisconsin. They are practically confined to the State of New York and the six New England States. Mr. Rhoades refers to the fact that the State of New York in one hundred years has developed a system which provides the people with one hundred and thirty-eight benevolent savings banks. As there are sixty-one counties in the State of New York, this makes an average of about two savings banks to a county. Can it be contended that this is supplying the workingman or the salaried employee with the facilities which he ought to have for making small savings deposits without difficulty? The answer is obviously, No.

The benevolent savings bank as it is conducted in New York and Massachusetts, where it has been more successful than in any other part of the country, is one of the finest of American financial institutions. We heartily share in Mr. Rhoades's desire to see this excellent system extended to every State of the Union. But it seems to us that the most effective step that could be taken for such an extension would be to establish Postal Savings Banks. A man who might never think of taking the trouble to travel fifty miles, or even five, for the purpose of opening a savings bank account, may do so under the Postal System by simply dropping into his village post-office. When his account amounts to a considerable sum, he will then have an incentive to withdraw it from the post-office bank and take it to the nearest savings bank for the sake of the increased interest. Every post-office where money is received will then become a feeder of the commercial or benevolent savings bank nearest to it.

What shall be done by the Government with the money collected through the Postal Savings Banks is a serious question, but a question which can be solved by proper legislation. If the money is deposited by the Post-Office Department in local and National banks, it ought to be properly secured, and the form of security should be determined by experts, certainly not by The Outlook. It is well to remember, however, that our National banks have, on the whole, taken care of their depositors' money with great honesty and security. This has been due,

not to Government bonds, which secure only the circulation of the banks, but almost entirely to a system of Government inspection. Cannot the same successful regulation which has made the National banks safe for private deposits make them safe for the deposits from Postal Savings Banks? Mr. Rhoades is quite right in pointing out the remarkable security of the benevolent savings banks, but how has that security been created? By Government regulation. It seems to us that if the bankers of the country, instead of opposing the Postal Savings Bank plan, will support and help to frame it, they will not only contribute to the advantage and security of the small depositors throughout the country, but in a very marked degree to their own financial welfare and prosperity.



WHEN SHALL A MAN THINK OF HIS WIFE?

It has been charged again and again that the rich and influential never go to jail in this country; that the net of justice is ingeniously woven so as to permit the big criminals, who make money out of lawbreaking, to slip through, while the insignificant offenders, who are often creatures of men of stronger wills, are caught and punished. There has been some basis for this charge; not in the laxity of the courts or the cowardice of prosecuting officers, but in the inadequacy of our laws. It is noticeable, however, that when a prominent lawbreaker is sent to jail there is at once a determined effort to get him free, on the curious ground that he has already been sufficiently punished. There seems to be a singular confusion of the public mind with regard to the responsibility of big and little criminals; and previous respectability, financial opportunity and standing are regarded as diminishing the offense instead of increasing it. The poor fellow who has no support from the pressure of public opinion and the sense of public confidence, and who feels that nobody cares whether he stands or falls, goes to jail without a voice of protest from the community; but let a man whom fortune, friends, and society have combined to hold

up lose his footing and fall, and hosts of people are swift to protest. This blindness of popular feeling is not only a perversion of the sense of justice, but a betrayal of justice; and there are few things more dangerous and demoralizing.

When such an offender goes to jail, sympathy instantly goes out to his wife and children, and the kind-hearted shrink from the thought of their suffering. There is no more terrible illustration of the deadly nature of sin than this shifting of the load of suffering from the shoulders of the culprit to those of his innocent wife. When a wife stands by her husband in his trial and goes to the prison door with him, all men uncover as she passes by and suffer with her. But her sorrow has, like all sorrow, a vicarious element; she suffers that many other women may be spared a kindred suffering. The righteous penalty that falls on her even more heavily than on her husband reaffirms the majesty of the law and stays other hands that are stretched out to take what is not theirs.

The plea is often made that an offender should be forgiven for his wife's sake, and that his suffering in the presence of her grief condones his offense. The plea that a man's offense should be overlooked because he did not realize what he was bringing on his wife is as old and as false as the plea that a man who kills another with a loaded gun is guiltless because he did not know the deadly charge was in it. It is precisely the influential, prosperous man who knows what his deed involves, and who ought to bear its full consequences. The time for a man to think of his wife is not after he has committed a crime, but when he is tempted to commit it. It is a poor love that does not always and everywhere consider first the happiness of the loved one; that does not think first of what may come to her from any course of action. When a man disgraces his wife by a crime, he shows that she is an afterthought with him; his first thought is about himself. It sometimes happens that a loving nature succumbs to a great and sudden temptation; but this is not the case of the offenders who devise and carry through dishonest financial schemes, and who become sensitive to the sufferings of their wives only when their hidden sins are brought to light. There

is no saving strength so close at hand and so protecting in the hour of temptation as the thought of a trustful wife, and that is the hour when the man who puts his wife first in his life thinks of her and is saved by her; the afterthought of her, when her misery is upon her, is at bottom a form of self-commiseration.



THE REINSPIRATION OF THE CHURCHES

The interest in the Laymen's Movement rose to a great height and registered that rise in a noble pledge to advance the work of Christianizing the world in the meeting held at the Hippodrome, in New York, reported on another page. In all history there has been no more striking example of the vitality of spiritual impulse backed by faith than this rekindling of the fire of religious devotion and enthusiasm at an old shrine. The story of the five young men who took refuge under a haystack in Williamstown, in 1806, and then and there consecrated themselves to preaching the glad tidings at the ends of the earth, is the classic of missionary history. Williams College has rendered the world no greater service than this beautiful example of love for humanity by service to the divinest of Teachers.

From the impressive and affecting commemoration of the Haystack Meeting held in Williamstown three years ago last October, at which the returning wave of influence set in motion there brought back witnesses from all the great races to which it had ministered at the ends of the earth, a group of influential men carried away a deep sense of the need of another stirring of life in the Christian Church in this country. They took counsel together, and the Laymen's Movement is the outcome of the inspiration which came to them in Williamstown. That meeting of five undergraduates had already changed the history of the world. No one can understand the marvelous history of Japan, China, India, and Turkey during the last few decades who does not take it into account. The magical potency of faith and prayer and self-surrender has been so impressively displayed that it must be regarded

as another evidence of Christianity, a modern miracle wrought by the spirit and power of the Christ, to whom the needs of the world are the open doors through which he brings the glad tidings of God's love and man's freedom and happiness.

At the ends of the earth there are multitudes who bless the five students who, in unconscious humility, made history a hundred years ago. At home their story was told again and again, but at the centennial celebration it was heard with a new sense of its divine significance, its thrilling appeal. Like the river Alphæus, which flows underground through a long stretch of country and then rushes into the sunlight again, the consecration of the Haystack Meeting, long a historical example, becomes again a living impulse; and, like that other traditional river of Greece which had the power of relighting the extinguished torches plunged into it, it has set ablaze the sluggish faith and zeal of an army of men.

A great revival of righteousness has been going on in this country for the past ten years; and those who regard the unrest and disturbance which have characterized those years as mere expressions of discontent with material conditions are blind to a deep stirring of the conscience of the country, demanding integrity and justice between man and man. The Laymen's Movement is a deep, quiet, moving revival of religion. Unheralded by sensational methods, free from the contagion of excitement which sometimes spreads like wildfire through great crowds, the spirit of Christ has come among the laymen of all the churches and is generating a great enthusiasm and an aggressive faith which, if wisely directed, will change the atmosphere of the world. This movement does not involve the creation of more machinery; it is, as an English bishop has happily said, not a movement which expresses itself in administration but in inspiration; it is the breath of the divine Spirit reviving the sluggish spirits of Christian men. The presence of God, always with men, is felt anew by those whose hands have been so busy that their hearts have grown cold and the gift of prophecy has passed from them. In this commercial country, in this busy age,

with its wonderful visions of wealth and power, God has spoken again, and an army of men are answering, "Lord, take me." There have been great revivals outside the churches; this is a great revival inside the Church. The impulse it is giving to Christian work abroad, of which The Outlook spoke last week, will not surpass in importance the impulse it will give to Christian devotion and work at home. It will clear the vision of men confused by the dazzling glow of material success; it will stir the churches so that the great problem shall not be, "to make both ends meet" at the end of the fiscal year, but to find room for the people; it will make the things that separate Christians seem insignificant in the presence of the tremendous tasks which confront them and the consciousness of the victorious power at their command.



THE SPECTATOR

Ever since the Spectator bought his farm he has found himself a positively invaluable member of society. The consummation has surprised him, rather; he has never prided himself on his conversational powers. Nor does he do so now, of course; it is the farm that works the whole value of his intercourse. Truly astonishing is the magic—all-pervasive, immediate—of that one little word. The Spectator has only to utter it in an ordinary tone of voice in any chance assembly of urban men and women, to find himself at once the object of eager, darting glances. He has proved the attraction again and again, unintentionally at the first, sometimes deliberately now, laying a special stress on the word to make it carry far. Seven times out of ten it happens that the face of his interlocutor lights with swift interest and he begins to discharge an avalanche of questions on the Spectator's head. Nine times out of ten it further happens that members of other conversational groups detach themselves from their settings and come wandering in the Spectator's direction, inquiring, "Didn't I hear some one talking about a farm over here?" If the Spectator were only a shade more forthputting in his disposition, he would dearly like to experiment with this charmed word in a street car full of peo-

ple blocked on their way uptown, or in the Metropolitan family circle when the overture delays.

The Spectator's friend the Professor, who has recently bought a small schooner, says that he has the same experience continually. Philological discussions break up with alacrity and relief that boat plans may be produced and studied, that charts may be spread out on the table and next summer's harbors indicated to an envious circle. It is a curious state of affairs, the Professor and the Spectator agree, considering the large number of abandoned and neglected farms in New England and the comparative scarcity of house-boats on the sea. What is the matter with all these people whose ears are enthralled by the words "farm" and "boat" and yet whose feet remain firmly fixed in their city homes? Is their wistful attention a superficial prompting of the restlessness of the age, or is it the beginning of a wholesome reaction against the complexity in which they live? The Spectator likes to think that it is the latter, and that mankind has borne the burden of artificial and intricate responsibilities just about as long as it can, and is getting ready to free itself with one great universal shrug of abandon. Great Pan! think of it! Unfortunately, it seldom happens that weary shoulders are freed of their burdens all in a minute; and, if a reaction has set in, it is likely to be a slow one. The most that the Spectator can do is to try to help it along. Here he would fain rise to his feet and say to every reader who honestly wants a farm and knows what he is wanting: By all means, go and buy one! It is probably not too much to say that any purse (which is not a mere tavern for pence) can compass some sort of a farm.

"And knows what he is wanting," mind! That phrase must be repeated at once and emphasized; it is very important. Fools who rush in upon farms rush out again so much faster than they entered that they leave all their worldly possessions behind them—and many of their spiritual, too, in the shape of perfectly good illusions which are spoiled forever now. But, if one must not be a

fool, neither, on the other hand, need one wait to become precisely an angel to tread a farm's happy fields. As a matter of fact, a farm demands neither a fool nor an angel to tend it, but a resolute man or woman—preferably both.

It must be understood, of course, at the outset, that even a little farm means inconvenience and a certain amount of hard work. No more gas-ranges, no more ice-wagons stopping every day at the door, no more hourly mails. As Elisabeth Woodbridge pointed out to us in her charming paper on "Grooming the Farm," several weeks ago, even the laziest farm will insist on some attention, will not permit itself to be left to lie utterly fallow, will exact some toil of its owner. Moreover, there is the solitude of the acre-wide separation from humankind to be reckoned with. The Spectator mentions these points because he has known them to be disastrous stumbling-blocks to some people who tried to overlook them. One must not overlook stumbling-blocks; one must take their measure carefully, and compare it with one's own stride.

But if one is reasonably sure of his willingness to suffer inconvenience, to do a certain amount of work, to furnish company for himself in default of better society, then there is nothing like a farm for solid satisfaction. It combines the diverse advantages of freedom and security in a remarkable measure. There it is always (the chances are—at least in the present state of affairs—that, once having bought it, one could not sell it if one wanted to); yet it seems to belong so much more to the landscape, to the hills and the valley, than to its nominal owner, and, moreover, it has fared so well during its period of desertion, shifting entirely for itself, that one would have no compunction whatever in leaving it if one happened to want to go abroad for the season. "Would have," the Spectator puts it. As a matter of fact, farm lovers never do want to go abroad.

It is the most docile sort of possession which one can possibly have, if one is going in for possession at all, if one is not

an absolute Senhouse. Only that certain amount of attention referred to above will it demand, and that is really essential to the self-respect both of itself and its owner; for the rest, it will go its own way if left alone. But, on the other hand, it will repay every effort expended on it, and can be made a "paying investment" if one is willing to apply mind and muscle to it. As for the health and sanity of it, the peace, the simplicity, those are the traits that chiefly adorn it in the Spectator's eyes and in the longing imaginations of the city dwellers who swarm like bees round the honey of its name. Surely it is a good sign that all people begin to agree in wanting these things; surely the future opens out alluring vistas for those whose hearts beat involuntarily higher at

the mere casual mention of a homely little word which stands to them as the symbol of emancipation. It is very good, the Spectator thinks, that people should want to hear about farms; it is better that many of them should think that they want to possess a farm, whether they really do or not; it is best that several of them should already have bought their desired acres and settled down. As for that future state of affairs when the open-air movement is well under way, when the tide which is choking the cities now has turned and spread itself out tranquilly over the country, when there are more occupied farms than there are apartment-houses—that will be such a transcendent result that the Spectator can only pray the gods that he may live to see it.

THE WHITE HOUSE UNDER FIRE

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE FROM WASHINGTON

OUTWARDLY Washington is at peace. The broad avenues of the city, the circles and places marked by statues of public men in dignified attitudes, the concrete-covered streets lined with private houses in democratic juxtaposition with shanties, the grave public buildings proclaiming for the most part an unmistakable if not pure classical ancestry, even the trolley cars which occasionally pause for no apparent purpose except the love of leisure, all breathe tranquillity. Per contra, inwardly Washington has not for years been so tumultuous. No such period of almost universal unrest and conflict has occurred for nearly a generation, even during the most strenuous periods of the Roosevelt régime. And where there is not actual conflict there seems to be at least some apprehension of it. Situated where it can receive the cross-fire of all the contestants stands the White House. Indeed, the Administration just now seems to have fewer real friends than an Administration ought normally to have, and, so far as I have found, none enthusiastic.

That it is a serious situation which the Administration confronts every one ad-

mits. The President has willingly put himself under obligation to carry out the policies which he, as a part of his predecessor's Administration, helped to formulate. The carrying out of those policies calls for the passage of certain measures. Under the best conditions the securing of legislation by Congress is a slow and laborious task. For such a task the President needs a united party and a supporting public opinion. Just at present he has neither. The party is, in general, committed to these policies, and public opinion is behind them; but the party, in Congress at least, is divided over other questions, and the public is neither well informed as to what Mr. Taft and his Cabinet are trying to do, nor at all confident that in turn its own views are heeded. That this is the situation at present is recognized by both friends and foes of the Administration. In other words, Mr. Taft and his Cabinet are in the position of a responsible Ministry in the British Parliament; their success or failure depends largely upon the success or failure of measures to which they stand pledged; but they lack the authority of the British Ministry to mold legislation.

They are dependent upon a Congress that is in confusion, and upon public sentiment which, if not hostile, is certainly critical.

What obstacles stand between the Administration and Congress? First, there are special interests, the same sort of special interests that obstructed the progress of the tariff bill, but that, in spite of some victories, were defeated by the enactment of the corporation tax and the tariff commission. Second, there are the temperamental conservatives. These, however, like the special interests, confront every Administration that tries to do anything. The present Administration is as little inclined to compromise with these obstructionists as was Mr. Roosevelt's Administration. In some particulars, indeed, Mr. Taft's Cabinet, being more expert legally, and therefore perhaps more confident, than Mr. Roosevelt's, is, if anything, less inclined to compromise with either reactionary or self-interested opponents. The Corporation Tax Law, passed by Congress last session under pressure from Mr. Taft as head of the party, the Inter-State Commerce measure, the Federal Incorporation measure, and several of the Conservation bills, are in some respects more uncompromising and no less constructive than any specific measure emanating from the last Administration. So far, therefore, as the two obstacles of special interest and reactionism alone are concerned, the present Administration is not in any special trouble. But these two obstacles of the Taft Administration have been reinforced by obstacles of another sort, but equally effective.

First, there is the insurrection within the Republican party in the Senate. Several Republican Senators, ranging all the way from reckless agitators to serious-minded progressives, have created a condition in the party which is likely to lead either to a split or to a change of management. They are known as the Senate insurgents. What unites them is a political belief which they hold rather loosely in common. Theirs is a revolt against what they regard as reactionary political doctrine. So pronounced is the difference of opinion between such men as Senator La Follette on the one hand, and Senator Aldrich on the other, that it presages, so some believe, a new alignment of parties. In the House

of Representatives there is also a Republican insurrection. The House insurgents are in revolt, not against a political creed, but against an oligarchical political system. Among these insurgents are a few who are followers of the insurgents in the Senate; but there are political conservatives among the House insurgents, and political progressives among the House regulars. This twofold split is a serious obstacle to legislation, and therefore a great inconvenience to the Administration. To think, however, that either body of the insurgents and the Administration are opponents is to misunderstand the situation. In fact, the truest supporters of the Administration policies are to be found within as well as without both insurgent groups. This fact the President has again and again recognized.

The other obstacle between the Administration and Congress originated, not in Congress, but in the Administration. The Ballinger-Pinchot controversy, which was an administrative matter to be settled by the Administration, has now become a subject for Congressional investigation. This means not only that time and energy which ought to go into pushing through the Administration's measures will be diverted, but also that the Republican majority, which ought to be the enthusiastic supporter of the Administration, must assume an attitude of the coldly impartial and inexorable inquisitor. The man whose official conduct is to be the principal subject of scrutiny by Congress is the very man who drew the conservation bills which Congress is called upon enthusiastically to pass.

Incidentally, this very investigation has afforded an illustration of the fact that the President has worked and can work with the House insurgents as well as with the regular faction in his party. In order that the House oligarchy should not pack the jury, the insurgents voted with the Democrats to take the selection of the investigating committee out of the hands of the Speaker and give it to the House as a whole. The President did not interfere, for he is determined that the investigation shall be thorough. When, however, the Democratic minority—following its instinct for blundering and insincerity—tried in its turn to pack the jury by

putting on it as Democratic members two men universally recognized as extreme partisans, one of them with a reputation for making irresponsible accusations against political opponents, insurgent Republican members consulted the President as leader of the party. It was as a consequence of their consultation that enough insurgents voted with the regulars to make the Democratic act of bad faith of no effect.

More serious even than the obstacles between the Administration and Congress are the obstacles between the Administration and the public. These virtually all arise from the failure of the Administration, through misfortune perhaps as much as through fault, to establish relations of confidence between the public and itself. Mr. Taft is a lawyer; most of his Cabinet are lawyers. It is the habit of the lawyer, like the habit of the physician, not to talk publicly about what he is going to do. In this case, however, the public is not an outside party, but is the Administration's client. Somehow the client has not been learning authoritatively how its cases are being tried or how its estates are being managed; and somehow the counsel for the public has not learned what the client is thinking about or what its will in these matters is. The Administration has been very busy in thinking of its pledges and of the task involved in trying to fulfill them. Counsel and client have grown apart. The chief means by which either could learn about the mind of the other is the newspaper and periodical press. Indeed, this is the chief means by which the numerous branches of the Government itself can be kept informed of the Administration's plans, and in turn can let the Administration know of its own spirit. That is true even here in Washington. In some way the newspaper and periodical press has not found it possible—or at least easy—to let the people know what the plans or measures of the Administration mean, what they are designed to accomplish, what exigencies they meet. In place of information there has grown up almost a code of surmises. The public has been educated up to an enthusiasm for conservation, and all that it knows about the man selected to conserve those

resources is that he was trained in the Land Office which was established for the express purpose of disposing of the public domain and the wealth it contains. A corporation tax law is passed as a part of the tariff law, and the public is totally unprepared to learn that that law will help to make it impossible for manufacturing corporations to come to Congress and falsely plead poverty as an excuse for greater protection. A Federal Incorporation law is proposed, and not a newspaper in advance has forestalled the suspicion that it is a refuge for monopolies. Consequently, not only in Washington, but in the West, misguided friends of Mr. Roosevelt and his policies actually believe that the best service they can render the public is to attempt to discredit the present Administration; progressive men, believers in the very measures for which the Administration stands, look with special scrutiny on every measure it proposes; and even in the ranks of the Administration itself there has arisen such dissension that it has passed into the stage of Congressional inquiry. On the other hand, we find that the Statehood Bill, which is a matter of public indifference—too much so—and regarded by many people as full of menace to our form of representative government, but which corresponds to a plank in the party platform, is considered by official Washington as more surely a party measure than the urgent and publicly demanded measures for the conservation of resources.

This is the situation as it appears in Washington. If it should prevent the passage of the Taft measures through Congress, it is likely to bring about a Democratic House at the next election, which would effectually tie the hands of the Administration for the rest of the term. If, in spite of it, the President succeeds in inducing Congress to pass effective conservation bills, secure better control over inter-State commerce, establish postal savings banks, and increase Federal regulation of corporations by Federal incorporation, the progressive movement which began under the Roosevelt Administration will reach a point of real and lasting effectiveness under the Administration of Mr. Taft.

ERNEST HAMLIN ABBOTT.

ENGLAND IN EVOLUTION

BY HAROLD J. HOWLAND

FIRST PAPER

THE BUDGET BEGAN IT

The illustrations which accompany this article are reproductions of election posters selected from a score or more sent to us from England by the author of the article, who is a member of the editorial staff of *The Outlook*. These posters are printed in bold colors, and in some instances are affixed to what we call "billboards" and what the English call "hoardings." But more often they are pasted in any available space where they may attract public notice, after the manner of theatrical and circus advertisements in this country. In the election preceding the present one prizes were offered on behalf of the Liberal party for the best and most taking designs for such posters, and the offer resulted in a very lively, widespread, and successful competition throughout the British Isles. In this respect the English elections are very much less conservative than American elections. It is as if the Democratic party spread broadcast throughout the United States cartoons of Mr. Taft, or the Republican party put up in all sorts of public places caricatures of Mr. Bryan and the so-called Populist farmer. This method of attracting the attention of the voter may very easily degenerate into an undesirable lampoonery, but custom and tradition enable the English party managers to keep within proper limits. The purpose of these English posters is not to arouse personal passion or animosity, but so far as possible to make the voter think. The present article will be followed by others from Mr. Howland's pen, giving some description of actual scenes and personal incidents in the Budget campaign as they appear to an American observer.—THE EDITORS.

ENGLAND at a crisis. A crisis involving a fiscal policy, a programme of social reform, a constitutional question between two estates of the realm, a conflict between the interests of two classes of the people. That is the subject which I am to depict for American readers. And it must be done in a series of sketches in which the truth is suggested rather than drawn in with scrupulous fidelity to detail. The pictures will be, not the photographs of the microscopist, in which the number of hairs on the hind leg of the flea may be counted with infallible accuracy, but the sketches of the impressionist, which must be viewed at arm's length, and judged on their effect as a whole, not on the accuracy of each particular line. I shall show the scene as it looked to an observer from without, watching for a few weeks the shifting play of opposing forces. The first sketch shall be somewhat historical, and may be called, *The Budget Began It*.

In one respect England manages her problems of income and expenditure better

than we. At the beginning of each year the Chancellor of the Exchequer, like the financial manager of any business, takes stock of his prospective expenses for the next twelve months, considers the sources of income open to him, and strikes a balance between the two. The result he embodies in proposed financial legislation, including the appropriations and the taxation for the year. That is, he prepares a Budget. Here he plans an economy to meet a shrinking income, there he suggests a new tax to provide for an inevitable increase of expenditure.

In April last, Mr. David Lloyd-George, the Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, in casting up his accounts, found himself confronted with a prospective deficit of £16,000,000, or \$80,000,000.¹

The deficit was due to three causes: a decrease in the imports of spirits, the growing cost of the navy, and the new

¹ In these papers I shall consider the English pound as equal to five dollars, and the shilling as equal to twenty-five cents. While this is obviously not a perfectly exact translation of values, it is sufficiently so for the purposes of a series of impressions.

THE BUDGET LEAGUE



"OUT OF THE WAY, MY LORD !"

A LIBERAL POSTER

policy of old age pensions. Public opinion, aroused by the rapid strides being made by Germany in naval construction, had persuaded the Liberal Government to provide for the laying down of eight great battle-ships—super-Dreadnoughts in the parlance of the day—instead of four, as it had at first proposed. Such an extended naval programme involved an increased expenditure for 1909 of \$15,000,000. The Old Age Pension Law, passed by the Liberals in 1908, grants to every needy person seventy years old, of British nationality and twenty years' residence in the United Kingdom, not a pauper receiving local aid, a weekly pension of from one to five shillings (25 cents to \$1.25), depending on the extent of his other income. The Chancellor estimated the cost of this measure of social amelioration, by which, in 1909, 700,000 persons would benefit, at \$27,000,000 for the year.

The problem before the Chancellor of the Exchequer was to balance his Budget by providing an additional revenue of \$80,000,000. He attacked the problem fearlessly. England's main sources of revenue are customs duties on spirits, sugar, tea, and tobacco; internal revenue taxes on beer and spirits; liquor licenses; death duties, or inheritance taxes; stamp taxes; and the income tax. Mr. Lloyd-George's proposals group themselves under eight heads:

1. **Income Tax.** An increase of one-sixth in the tax rate on all unearned incomes and on earned incomes above \$10,000. In addition, a super-tax of two and one-half per cent on incomes of over \$25,000, the super-tax being chargeable, however, only on the sum by which the income exceeds \$15,000. Thus an income of \$30,000 would pay a tax of \$1,750 and a super-tax of \$375. It was also provided that a man whose income was less than \$2,500 might have deducted from it, in calculating the tax, \$50 for each child under sixteen years of age.

2. **Death Duties.** The tax on estates under \$25,000 was unchanged, remaining at one, two, or three per cent, according to value. Above that figure the Chancellor proposed, to use his own words, "to shorten the steps and steepen the

graduation." The maximum rate of fifteen per cent was not to be increased, but it was to be reached at \$5,000,000, instead of at \$15,000,000 as under the existing law. Increases were also made in the rates on settlement estates, where the property does not pass into absolute ownership, and on legacies and succession in any but the direct line of descent.

3. **Stamp Taxes.** The tax upon transfer of property was raised from one-half of one per cent to one per cent.

4. **Tobacco.** The import duty on tobacco was increased 90 cents a pound.

5. **Spirits.** The import duty on spirits was increased 93 cents a gallon.

6. **Liquor Licenses.** The license fees for public-houses and all kinds of places where liquors are sold were substantially increased, especially on those houses doing the largest business.

7. **Motor Cars.** A new tax on motor cars, ranging from \$10.50 on a car of less than six and one-half horse-power to \$210 on a car of more than sixty horse-power. Doctors' cars to be taxed at only one-half these rates. In addition, a duty of six cents a gallon on petrol (gasoline) used for motor cars. The revenue from these two sources was to go into a fund for the construction and maintenance of good roads.

8. **Land Taxes.** Four new taxes on land, beginning with a tax on undeveloped or unimproved land, not agricultural or park land to which the public has access, of one-tenth of one per cent. Second, a tax of ten per cent on the benefit accruing to the landowner at the expiration of a lease. (This tax, which depends on a system of land tenure comparatively unknown in the United States, requires some further elucidation, which I shall try to give in a later article.) Third, a tax of five per cent on mineral royalties; that is, on the royalties which a landowner receives on the output of mines on his land which he allows others to work. Fourth, a tax of twenty per cent on the unearned increment in land; that is, on that increase in the value of land which is due "to no expenditure of capital or thought on the part of the owner," but is "entirely owing to the energy and the enterprise of the community." This tax to be paid when the land was sold, when it

passed at death, on the granting of a lease for more than fourteen years, and on land held by corporations ("which do not die"—Mr. Lloyd-George), every fifteen years. From the increment tax were excluded agricultural lands and lands used for sport whose value for such use was not greater than their value as agricultural land.

Mr. Lloyd-George's proposals, with two exceptions, have, it will be noted, one dominant note—increased taxes on property. Spirits and tobacco are luxuries, of however extensive use, and higher duties on them are justified by the financial needs of the country. But the increase in the tax on large incomes, the steeper graduation of the death duties, the higher license duties, the tax on motor cars and the raw material of their motive power, and the four taxes on land, are all aimed at property. And the most important, the most far-reaching, and, in the minds of his opponents, the most revolutionary taxes in the Lloyd-George Budget were aimed at the property which is founded on natural resources. It was not by accident that this was true. The Chancellor, wisely or unwisely, fairly or unfairly, with the skill of a statesman or the blindness of a demagogue, aimed at just such a goal. "All we ask," said he, "is that wealth shall pay its fair share. We are simply seeking to establish in an Act of Parliament a very old friend and honored fiscal principle, that men should contribute to the needs of the State as God has prospered them."

As I have said, two causes lay beneath the need for more taxation—the demand for a bigger navy and old age pensions. The demand for the greater navy came most loudly from the owners of property; therefore, said Mr. Lloyd-George, let them pay their rightful share of the bill. And on the second point, of pensions for the aged needy, he declared: "I do, without fear of misrepresentation, say that the first charge on the great natural resources of this country ought to be the maintenance above want of all those who are giving their labor and brain and muscle to the cultivation and development of those resources." Property must pay for the protection against the foreigner which it demands; property must pay its fair

share for the amelioration of the condition of those who have helped to build up property and in their old age are suffering want.

Inseparably connected with the Budget, in the intentions of its framers, is a programme of social reform of which the old age pensions already established formed the first item. "This," said Mr. Lloyd-George, "is a War Budget. It is for raising money to wage implacable warfare against poverty and squalidness. I cannot help hoping and believing that before this generation has passed away we shall have advanced a great step toward that good time when poverty and the wretchedness and human degradation which always follow in its camp will be as remote to the people of this country as the wolves which once infested its forests."

The Budget was hailed as revolutionary, Socialistic, confiscatory. The land taxes in particular were denounced and attacked, derided and assailed. The debate in the House of Commons lasted from the end of April until November, when the bill was passed by the great majority of 230. The vote was 379 to 149. In the House of Lords the Budget was attacked with even greater vehemence, and, after a powerful debate, the House took the unprecedented action of declaring "that this House is not justified in giving its consent to this bill until it has been submitted to the judgment of the country."

The motion was adopted in spite of weighty warnings from some of the most eminent peers that the House was going beyond its rights and powers in rejecting a Finance Bill, and thus refusing to grant to the Crown the supplies necessary for the carrying on of the Government. The vote in the Lords was 350 to 75. On December 2 the House of Commons adopted a resolution declaring "that the action of the House of Lords in refusing to pass into law the financial provision made by this House for the service of the year is a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the Commons."

There was nothing left but an appeal to the country. Parliament was prorogued, with the intention of dissolving it early in January, and the campaign for a general election began forthwith.

Here let us look a little at the system

THE BUDGET LEAGUE



**"THE LIBERALS GAVE ME BREAD,
YOU OFFER ME A STONE."**

A LIBERAL POSTER



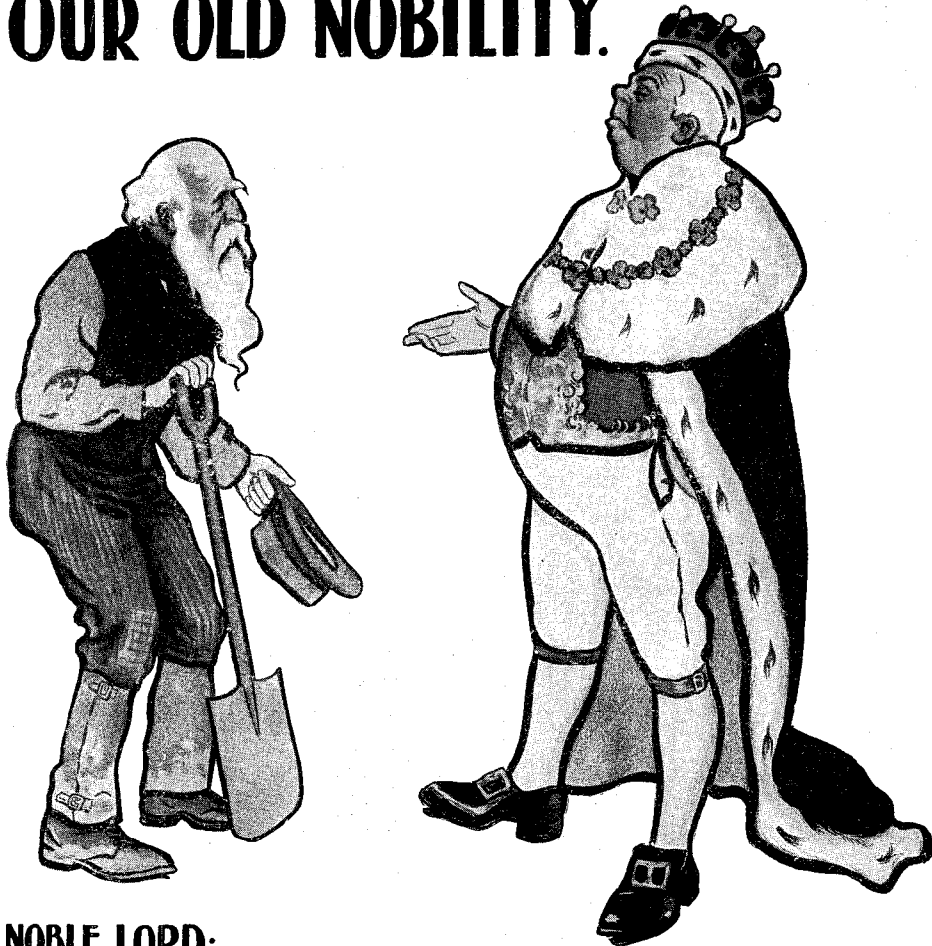
THE RADICAL "FREE TRADE" SLAVES

A CONSERVATIVE POSTER



A CONSERVATIVE POSTER

THE BUDGET LEAGUE. OUR OLD NOBILITY.



NOBLE LORD:

**"YOU HAVE SERVED ME
FAITHFULLY FOR 60 YEARS; NOW I'M GOING
TO REDUCE YOUR WAGES BY HALF, THEN YOU'LL
BE ELIGIBLE FOR THE OLD AGE PENSION!
SEE?"**

A LIBERAL POSTER

of party government in England, which in certain noteworthy particulars is quite different from our own. Parliament is the legislating body; and legislation on public questions is very completely under the control of the Cabinet. That body, which differs essentially from the Cabinet of an American President, is composed of the King's Ministers, chosen from the dominant party in Parliament. It performs a threefold function: it leads its party, controls legislation in the House of Commons, and administers the executive functions of the Government. In its legislative capacity the power of the Cabinet is well-nigh absolute so long as it commands a majority in the Commons. In fact, a prominent authority on the government of England has said: "To say that at present the Cabinet legislates with the advice and consent of Parliament would hardly be an exaggeration. . . . It does not follow that the action of the Cabinet is arbitrary; that it springs from personal judgment divorced from all dependence on popular or Parliamentary opinion. The Cabinet has its finger always on the pulse of the House of Commons, and especially of its own majority there, and it is ever on the watch for expressions of public feeling outside. Its function is in large part to sum up and formulate the desires of its supporters, but the majority must accept its conclusions, and in carrying them out becomes well-nigh automatic."

It follows, from the function of the Cabinet as the real legislative body and from the principle of party government, that a Ministry which has been defeated in the House of Commons on any but the most unimportant measures cannot continue in office. In the contingency of an adverse vote in the Commons, two alternatives are before the Cabinet. It may resign, when the Crown must select some statesman, generally of the opposite party, to form a new Cabinet; or it may dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country at a general election.

Parliamentary elections (which are the only elections in England except those for purely local purposes) are held, then, not at stated intervals,¹ but whenever a Ministry loses the support of the House

of Commons and decides, as a consequence, to appeal to the country.

It is the support of the House of Commons, be it noted, that determines the status of the Cabinet, and therein lies the anomaly of the present crisis. "A Cabinet," says Lowell in his "The Government of England," "never thinks of resigning on account of the hostility of the Lords; nor is its position directly affected by their action."

So it has been in the past. But so it was not in the year of grace 1909. The action of the House of Lords very directly affected the position of the Cabinet; and while the hostility of the hereditary chamber did not make the Ministry "think of resigning," it did make it appeal to the country. A Financial Bill (otherwise Budget) stands on a very different footing from other bills. If it be not enacted, the sources of the country's revenue are dried up. Taxation, the very breath of life to a government, in large measure ceases, and a continued failure to enact a Finance Bill would quickly produce chaos. A Cabinet which cannot pass its Budget must either give way to its opponents or secure from the country a mandate which its opponents cannot ignore.

This is the first time in hundreds of years, if not in the history of England, that the House of Lords has rejected a Budget. The situation brought about by its action could have but one outcome—dissolution and a general election—for the Cabinet, with a majority of 230 in the Commons, could not resign. The course adopted by the Lords, therefore, set up two contentions, from both of which the Liberal party dissented: First, the right of the House of Lords to interfere in financial legislation; secondly, the right of the House of Lords to force a dissolution of Parliament and an appeal to the electors.

The Liberal party, therefore, went before the people on two questions, one fiscal, the other constitutional: Shall the principles of taxation embodied in the Budget—the increased taxation of property and the wealth that comes from natural resources—be adopted by the nation? Shall the right of the House of Lords to share in the control of the nation's finance and to force at its pleasure a dissolution

¹ Except in the rare case that a Parliament has expired by statutory limitation at the end of seven years.

IT'S WORK WE WANT



A FREE TRADE VICTIM

A CONSERVATIVE POSTER

of Parliament be flatly and explicitly denied?

The first question the Conservative party has met with a negative and with an alternative policy, Tariff Reform, otherwise Protection. To the second it has also said No, but less loudly and less insistently. In a controversy over the constitutional question the Conservatives have all to lose and little to gain. The *status quo* is plenty good enough for them. The Lords *have* made use of the powers which the Liberals would deny them, and it is better for the Conservatives to unite

in the positive advocacy of Tariff Reform than in the negative defense of the acts of the hereditary chamber. Or so it seems to the observer seeking impressions.

The Liberal battle-cries, then, may be said to be, "The Budget and Social Reform," and (to put it a little brusquely) "Down with the Lords;" the Conservative slogans, "Tariff Reform and Prosperity for All," and "A Strong Second Chamber to Check Radical Extravagance."

London.

PRISONS AND PROGRESS

BY LYMAN BEECHER STOWE

NOT long ago a report reached the Attorney-General of the United States that the conditions were bad in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania at Allegheny, where were confined twenty-one Federal prisoners. Immediately he despatched an inspector of the Department of Justice to investigate. The inspector recommended the prompt removal of the eight Federal prisoners whose terms did not soon expire to the Federal Penitentiary at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Four of these prisoners, among them a millionaire ex-banker, were at once transferred to Fort Leavenworth. The other four, on their own request, were allowed to remain at least for the time being in the Pennsylvania institution. This was the official result of the investigation. Its unofficial result was to fan into new life a vigorous press discussion of the conditions in this penitentiary which had earlier been started by an investigation made by the Board of Charities of the State.

The charges contained in the report of the inspector of the Department of Justice were briefly as follows:

First: Owing to the State law regulating and limiting prison labor, approximately one-half the prisoners were idle.

Second: The inspector said, "The day before my arrival, when one of the Board

of Inspectors of the institution was in the dining-room during the noon meal, the prisoners arose in a body and hurled their food, plates, etc., at the Inspector and called upon him to witness the quality of their food."

Third: "Several of the higher-class prisoners, men of good education and former high standing, expressed dissatisfaction because they were compelled to eat at the general mess."

Fourth: Almost without exception the prisoners complained of vermin in the cells.

Fifth: "The warden, deputy warden, physician, chaplain, and clerk, admitted to me that tuberculosis, chiefly in pulmonary but also in other forms, is prevalent in the institution."

Sixth: "The institution is overcrowded, and the warden says it will be more so when the fall terms of the courts begin. The population August 31, 1909, was 1,301. More than one-half the number are confined two in a cell."

I was commissioned by The Outlook to investigate these charges. By way of securing a standard of comparison, I first visited the short-term penitentiary on Blackwell's Island (where, by the way, the atrociously small and dark cells are a disgrace to New York State), and then the Maryland Penitentiary at Baltimore,

whence I went to Pittsburgh. Resolving to beard the lion in his den, I went direct to the office of Mr. William J. Diehl, a former Mayor of Pittsburgh and now the President of the Board of Inspectors of the Western Penitentiary. As a result of the newspaper attacks upon the prison I found Mr. Diehl, to put it mildly, in a sensitive state of mind and not inclined to welcome further publicity. He accused the papers of lying about the conditions, and I later found he had some reasonable grounds for this accusation. When I had assured him that I wanted nothing but the truth—the truth which should be a healthful antidote to the lies which rankled in his mind—he relented and discussed the situation freely and frankly. I left his office with a letter of introduction to Warden John Francies.

The next morning I boarded a car and set out for Allegheny and the much-discussed Western Penitentiary. Allegheny is a part of the greater Pittsburgh. It bears the same relation to Pittsburgh as does Brooklyn to New York. It is the smokiest and grimest part of the “smoky city.” Even the houses of the rich, “the homes of luxury and alimony,” as Mr. Dooley calls them, are covered with grime and soot like the railway stations in ordinary cities. I can imagine no more fitting preparation for a penitentiary mood than that cheerless car ride from Pittsburgh across the Ohio River and along the monotonous river front districts of Allegheny. Along the whole route is a never-ending succession of smoke-blackened factories and freight yards, little low-browed wooden stores, and brick and wooden tenements vying one with another in monotonous ugliness. The only bit of color in the whole dreary scene was the ubiquitous saloon with its gaudy gilded sign. Two frequently reappearing theatrical bill-posters struck my attention. One represented “Dare Devil Dan” shooting his revolver with one hand while supporting the prostrate form of his fainting sweetheart with the other. The other showed “The Thief,” striped and manacled and glaring with an expression of malignant hate from behind the bars of his cell. Later I was not surprised to learn that the Penitentiary recruited a goodly number of its inmates from the neighborhood.

The great prison, flanking the river on what must have been originally low-lying marsh land, rises into view from amid its squalid surroundings with a kind of grim beauty. Along both sides and the rear extend huge stone walls on which at intervals rise turrets in which armed guards are always stationed. As I was walking along the front of the prison toward the entrance I first noticed the extreme dampness of the air. It was such as I had seldom before felt except in low-lying cellars. As I approached the door I noticed two ingenuously boastful signs which threw light on this. The first, as high, perhaps, on the front wall as the middle step of the steps leading to the entrance door, read, “High-water mark in 1884.” The second, almost on a level with the top step, read, “High-water mark in 1907.” As I read it I thought of the consumptive prisoners.

The present warden, John Francies, has ruled within these forbidding walls since June 26, 1909, only. I met him wandering apparently vaguely around the great entrance rotunda. He is a small, unimposing-looking man. My first impression was that he did not know exactly what he was doing. How completely I right-about-faced on this impression my later observations will show. When I had shown him my letter and stated my mission, he proceeded to give me the freedom of the prison as completely as ever a distinguished guest was given the freedom of a city. To my surprise, he brushed aside for my benefit the rules restricting the activities of visitors. I could go anywhere, see anything, talk with anybody—even the prisoners. If I don't know what went on in that prison during the next three days, it is not the fault of the warden.

Since the Federal inspector spent only a day at the prison, was there a month earlier, and confined his attention exclusively to matters affecting Federal prisoners, it is not surprising that my observations should not agree with his in all respects. It is significant that they should agree in essentials, with but one exception. As Federal prisoners are merely boarders at State institutions, the question, “Who is to blame?” did not concern the Government inspector.

Just as economic conditions underlie

social conditions in society at large, so they do in the miniature prison world. The basis of proper prison conditions, as of outside conditions, must be plenty of work to do and plenty of impulse to do it. Although neglecting the institution in other respects, the Legislature of Pennsylvania, at the instigation of labor unions, has seen to it that the Western Penitentiary is deprived of this indispensable basis for success. An ingenious law provides that only thirty-five per cent of the population of any prison within the State may be productively employed—that is, in producing for the market. It even specifies just what proportion shall be permitted to engage in each industry. For instance, ten per cent may be employed in making stockings, twenty per cent in making mats, and five per cent in making brooms. Not content with this, the law further provides that no steam machinery shall be used in the industries in which the thirty-five per cent are graciously permitted to engage. Thus the prisons of the State are prevented by law from achieving to any large extent the purpose for which they are maintained. Every idle prisoner is supported by the taxpayers, only to come out and prey upon them when his term expires. He is forced by law to contract habits ruinous to himself and inimicable to society.

When I was at the prison, there were 310 idle men, not counting the 157 sick. The entire population numbered 1,296. The 310 idle were the least efficient workers, and hence those who needed work the most. The new warden was scrubbing, scraping, painting, and generally renovating the whole great plant, and thus employing a large number of prisoners who would otherwise be idle. It is probably safe to say that under ordinary conditions the framers of this labor law have the satisfaction of seeing half the prisoners in an enforced state of helpless and ruinous idleness. As is now well known, idleness in prisons breeds insanity and disease.

Naturally, under such conditions the prisoners have no opportunity to earn money for themselves or their families—a right which they formerly enjoyed and used to good advantage. If a man comes to the penitentiary for theft under pressure

of extreme poverty, as so many do, the State now guarantees him equal poverty and greater pressure on his release. Worse than that, a man whose earnings are the sole support of a large family may commit a crime which lands him in the penitentiary. The guilty husband is deprived of his liberty, but given food and shelter. The innocent wife and children are deprived of their means of securing food and shelter, without which liberty is a precarious blessing. Certainly this is a very direct means of visiting not alone "the sins of the fathers upon the children," but those of the husband upon the wife. This particular injustice is by no means peculiar to Pennsylvania. It is the rule rather than the exception throughout the country.

So much for the first charge in the Federal inspector's report. The second had to do with the food. All trace of the sensational bad food revolt had vanished by the time I reached the prison. Both officers and prisoners denied its occurrence. I sampled the prison fare—meat, potatoes, bread, and soup. I have rarely ever eaten more appetizing plain food cooked in quantity. If this food is a fair example of prison fare, many boarding-house inmates would gladly change places with convicts so far as food is concerned. I found, though, that here again the renovating hand of Warden Francies had been at work. The food had formerly been far different both as to quality and variety. There had been a daily, or almost daily, stew, which gave the frail basis of fact to the revolt tale which some of the prisoners, for reasons best known to themselves, recounted to the inspector.

The third charge in the inspector's report is really not a charge at all, but merely a statement of fact. He said: "Several of the higher-class prisoners, men of good education and former high standing, expressed dissatisfaction because they were compelled to eat at the general mess." When Mr. John Francies was postmaster of Allegheny, among the friends who went on his bond was a certain millionaire banker. The banker subsequently wrecked his bank and was lodged as a convict in the Western Penitentiary. The ex-banker rejoiced when he learned that "John" had been elected

warden. He began to plan which guards should be discharged, who should be promoted, and a general reorganization. When "John" arrived, he found his old acquaintance comfortably ensconced in the large, handsomely appointed room used for recording the Bertillon measurements. Nominally he was there as a clerk—actually the Bertillon room was his private office where he conducted his business affairs and chatted pleasantly with visitors to the institution. At meal times he went to the hospital and ate of the more delicate food which is there specially prepared for the sick. When "John" learned these facts, he curtly reminded his old acquaintance that "a prison term was not a picnic." He ordered him to go to work in the mat shop and to eat with his fellow-prisoners at the general mess. The millionaire was not used to such treatment. He became very bitter against Warden Francies. He clamored to be transferred to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. He is one of the four who have been taken there. This man was the leader of a little group of convict aristocrats who, under Mr. Francies's predecessor, were apparently allowed to do practically anything they pleased short of leaving the prison. If the purpose of prisons were to produce the largest possible number of bomb-throwing Anarchists, could any more effective means be devised than treating rich convicts in just this way?

The inspector's fourth charge relates to vermin in the cells. It appears that it has been the custom to whitewash the cells each year, without first scraping them. Warden Francies believes that the offending vermin thus found comfortable lodgment between the layers of whitewash. He has had a vermin squad of fifty prisoners engaged in scraping the cells, filling up the holes and crevices, and painting walls and ceiling, after routing the enemy by the liberal use of disinfectants. This gave fifty prisoners who must otherwise have remained idle an enlivening and useful if transitory occupation. It is depressing to contemplate the presumably large number of vermin-infested prisons where there is no new warden to apply heroic measures. I do not know, but I should suppose it would be practically impossible to keep the small dark holes

known as cells in the Blackwell's Island Penitentiary free from these pests.

The fifth charge in the indictment relates to the prevalence of tuberculosis among the prisoners. The extent of this scourge has previously been a matter of guesswork. The new physician, who had been in office even a shorter time than the new warden, had been subjecting every prisoner to a scientific test. At the time I talked with him he had examined four hundred. So far as he could judge from the data then in hand, he believed that about 200 of the 1,296 prisoners were victims of the disease. He thinks about two-thirds of them were tubercular at the time they were imprisoned. As he is now examining every new arrival, he will eventually have definite figures on this point. Eighty-seven men in advanced stages of the disease were confined in a section of cells assigned to their exclusive use. This section is, however, in no way separated from the other cells.¹ The doctor told me what he was doing for these consumptives. He was having their clothes washed separately from those of the other prisoners, providing them with special food, and getting them out into the air as much as prison discipline will permit. When he had finished describing his methods, I said, "Doctor, in spite of all you are doing, can you well imagine a more certain or relentless way of killing these men?" He acknowledged that he could not. Some of them are undoubtedly committed for short terms—short terms which will in certain cases end in death. Between death under these conditions and capital punishment there is only a distinction without a difference.

The Board of Inspectors disclaim responsibility for this condition. Did they not beseech the last Legislature for funds with which to establish at the prison a tuberculosis camp? If you then seek to place the blame upon the legislators, they will in turn disclaim responsibility by claiming that they were not justified in making such an appropriation until the question of whether or not the institution was to be moved into the country had been finally settled. For ten years this question has been discussed. For ten years the

¹ Such separation is one of the minor reforms Warden Francies is planning.

prison management and the Legislature have thus played battledore and shuttlecock while neglected prisoners fell sick and died. Until that question is settled no one is ever responsible for bad conditions. A good excuse may be a great relief to inspectors and legislators, but it is no relief to sick prisoners.

At the time of my visit there were, besides the consumptives, fifty sick prisoners in the hospital—a small, old-fashioned building obviously inadequate and unsanitary in spite of its excellent administration. Twenty more, while not in the hospital, were too ill to do anything. Thirty more were insane. All told, the prisoners sick in mind or body made up thirty per cent of the population.

Many years ago there was a workhouse on the bank of the Ohio River where the Western Penitentiary now stands. Because of the excessive dampness and the spring floods, the authorities finally decided that the site was too unhealthful for a workhouse, and they moved it away. In the early '80s the Penitentiary succeeded the workhouse. You may well ask, Why? The only reason that I could discover was that the State owned the land and had to build a penitentiary somewhere. Since then the cutting away of the forests along the headwaters of the river has constantly increased the floods, until, in the spring of 1907, the prison yard became a pond of some depth, upon which the guards had to row about in skiffs to perform their duties. One can hardly blame the Legislature for declining to establish a tuberculosis camp on this site. Imagine consumptives rowing around on flood-water! Naturally, the death rate in the ward in which the Penitentiary is located is high—next to the highest in the city. In an adjoining ward, where I suppose the conditions are practically the same, it is a trifle higher. Of course many things besides climate affect a death rate, but, nevertheless, I believe it is perfectly fair to conclude that this prison is situated on one of the most unhealthful sites of a not too healthful city. From the front fog pours over it from the river; from the back and from both sides come the smoke and the soot of the well-nigh innumerable factory chimneys. The State of Pennsylvania is spending many thousands of dollars in fighting tubercu-

losis. It would be interesting to know how much tuberculosis the State has manufactured within these walls. A more favorable site for a tuberculosis factory could hardly be imagined.

The last charge in the report to the Department of Justice relates to overcrowding. The inspector stated that more than one-half the prisoners are confined two in a cell. By way of giving the devil his due I am bound to say that I could discover only 364 prisoners so confined, with the prospect of there being a hundred or so more later in the season. In other words, I found more than a quarter of the population confined two in a cell. These cells were nine feet deep by five feet wide, with iron beds on either side, leaving a passageway of about eighteen inches across in the center. The iron beds were not such as could be folded up against the walls during the daytime. All the men thus confined were at work in the shops during the working day. Even so they were locked up in these little coops between fourteen and fifteen hours out of every twenty-four. The injury to the men themselves as well as to the prison morale is all too obvious. But how can the Legislature be expected to appropriate for new cell houses when the whole institution may be moved? At the last session, however, a very enlightened parole law was passed, which, when it eventually comes into full operation, will undoubtedly greatly lessen this overcrowding. This new law is typical of prison conditions and legislation: the good and the bad, the archaic and the modern, are all jumbled together. The idea of superimposing upon Pennsylvania's vicious convict labor law this beneficent parole system! The same session, or that and the one before it, I believe, made also the requisite appropriations for an asylum for the criminal insane, which is now being built at Fairview in Wayne County. When it is completed, the cruel anomaly of subjecting incurable lunatics to exactly the same punishment as persons in full possession of their faculties will at last cease in Pennsylvania. Having had eighteen of his thirty lunatic convicts officially pronounced insane by lunacy commissions, Warden Francies was about to send them to asylums. He told me

that such as were pronounced incurable would be sent back to serve out their prison terms. And until the new asylum is opened, which may, I suppose, be years hence, he will be obliged to take them back, in spite of having no means of caring for them.

For a man who has been in office so few months, Warden John Francies has a remarkably clear idea of what he wants, when and why he wants it. The Board of Inspectors is palliating its strange tolerance of his immediate predecessor by giving him whole-hearted support. Nothing radical, however, can be done until the Legislature meets again in 1911. Mr. Francies has himself served in the Legislature, and I believe he will know how to bring the decade-long debate on the removal of the institution to a summary conclusion. That is the dead center which has stopped the wheel of progress in this particular penitentiary more than anything else, unless it be the convict labor law. Although far from a sentimentalist, Mr. Francies treats convicts like human beings. He doesn't even patronize them. He is "no respecter of" (convicts)—those of the humblest origin receive the same treatment at his hands as those of high degree. He has ideas, too. Among other things, he doesn't believe it is just to lock a man up for ten or twelve years without opportunity to earn anything for himself or his family. While we were discussing this subject he read me a letter from a man, a carpenter by trade, who had recently gone out to begin life anew. This was his equipment from the State after he had expiated his crime by a sentence well served: ten dollars, the old clothes with which he entered, his ex-convict reputation, a God bless you from the chaplain, and no work. His wife was delicate and had barely kept herself and her little daughter decently alive. To save money was out of the question. He writes:

Dear Sir—I and my wife and eight yr child are here among entire strangers. I have no tools to work with. Our money is all gone we are among entire strangers and the child has scarlet fever in a mild form we have two rooms in which we sleep and the child's illness makes it so hard for us to get along we have been living from just a little stuff from the restaurant that I have been

buying on chances of getting employment but it is now necessary that I look after the child and God alone knows what may become of us. Money cannot get us to heaven but the want of a few dollars will surely send us to hell. As the only way we have left is if we cannot make a living we can die together and then I suppose society will be vindicated it surely looks like if death would be our only release from trouble. If you can give me the loan of 10 or 20 Dollars until I get on my feet. I know what you will save me from not from the Penitentiary but from hell. trusting you will look at this that it is not written to you for the purpose of gain by deceit for God knows the need we are in. * * *

But again let it not be supposed that the social injustice illustrated by the plight of the half-crazed ex-convict carpenter is peculiar to the State of Pennsylvania. It is instead the general rule throughout the United States.

I can imagine no more profitable experience for the Committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature having in hand prison legislation than a visit to the Maryland Penitentiary at Baltimore. This penitentiary is an anomaly. It is a cheerful prison. Here is used the notoriously vicious system known as contract labor, which was at the root of the abuses in the Ohio Penitentiary and the atrocities of peonage in the South. As used by Warden John Weyler it results in profit and advantage to the State, in profit and advantage to the prisoners, and naturally in profit to the contractors or they would not contract. The products manufactured are such as will compete to the least extent possible with the products of free labor within the State. This is the contract system purged of its usual accessories—greed and graft. Mr. Weyler finds out the average daily output of the outside worker in each of the industries followed in the prison. He then assigns three-quarters of this output as the daily prison task. The contractors have their agents on hand to protect their interests and see that they get what they pay for, but these agents have nothing to do with the assignment of tasks or the discipline—in other words, they do not run the prison. When a prisoner has completed his task for the State, his time is his own for the remainder of the working day. The contractor must pay him for his personal work at exactly the same rate at which he pays

for his compulsory work for the State. As a result, the brightest and most diligent workers finish their task for the State in the morning and have the afternoon for their own work. Even the slowest earn something for themselves. Some prisoners' earnings run as high as \$70 or \$80 a month. The institution banks their money for them, and they draw on it by check. Every check for over two dollars has to receive Warden Weyler's O. K. This is to help them to make a wise use of their money. Some prisoners are contributing between six and seven hundred dollars a year toward the support of their families. Every prisoner whose family deserves it is contributing something. Many of the unmarried men are running up good-sized bank accounts—practically all are saving something.

While I was talking with the Warden, he was called aside to bid good-by to a departing negro prisoner. I never saw a more radiating incarnation of contented prosperity than that convict negro. From the Warden I learned that he was leaving with \$250 which he had earned. He had made arrangements to buy an interest in a little farm down the river. He had never had more than \$25 at one time before in his life. He felt himself a capitalist. This one-time thief went back into the world a staunch defender of property rights. He had something to defend.

There is as much vim and *esprit de corps* in the workshops of this amazing penitentiary as one might expect to find in a model co-operative factory. The proprietor of a great locomotive works, on being shown over these prison shops, remarked: "I wish I could get my men to work with the same energy and enthusiasm." During 1908 these 1,000 prisoners earned for the State of Maryland over \$37,000, and for themselves and their families over \$28,000. This was less than usual. The year before, the institution turned into the State treasury a surplus of over \$40,000, and into the prisoners' pockets over \$34,000.

If there were enough Warden Weylers to go around, the contract system might everywhere be used with equal success. Unfortunately, there are not. Human nature is too weak. Greed and graft are too common. Is it not plain, however,

that abundant work is a fundamental prison necessity—that some opportunity for prisoners to earn money for themselves and their families is fundamental prison justice? That labor unions should wish in some manner to regulate convict labor is certainly natural and probably just. But by enforcing prison idleness they not only ruin prisoners, body and soul, but they injure themselves. A majority of prisoners are recruited from the ranks of labor. Shall they return to these ranks on their release as self-supporting and self-respecting workers, or as dangerous parasites? Is not that a question which labor leaders should ask themselves?

A certain man was sentenced to the Maryland Penitentiary. He had lost his money, his self-respect, and every vestige of his faith in human nature. During his term he was enabled to earn several hundred dollars—enough for a new start in life. He also wrote a letter, and here it is:

Mr. John F. Weyler, Warden, Maryland Penitentiary:

Mr. Warden—Words are sometimes inadequate vehicles, particularly when one is overwhelmed with a feeling of deepest gratitude, as I am on the eve of my release from this institution. When I use the word gratitude, I mean, not so much relief at being again a free man, but a deeper sense of appreciation of all your kindness to me during my term, together with the broad humanity with which you have invariably defined the relations of warden and prisoner. As I have said, it is more than difficult to fitly express in words what all this has meant to me: for if ever a man had the all-but-dead ashes of his life fanned by ideally generous treatment into even a fitful flame of rekindled ambition, thus being prompted to renewed effort to climb out of the depths, I am that man. And I have no hesitation in saying—extravagant though an outsider might call it—that whatever of future usefulness may be before me, it is due to you, and you alone, that I have the energy and desire to accomplish it. You have never preached, but it has been my experience, as well as those of the prisoners with whom I have come in contact, that a kindly word and a genuine interest were never wanting, so far as you were concerned, when most needed. Above all, perhaps, you have always been considerate, and so aided many a hopeless fellow to at least regain his self-respect. Indeed, it has been almost worth a term of imprisonment to have one's faith in human nature restored—to learn that all charity is not cold, as proverbially painted, and that genuine kindness of heart, coupled with real humanity, may work wonders. All this is

probably an old story to you, after your many years of usefulness as the official head of the Maryland Penitentiary; but, even at the risk of being deemed tedious, I am compelled to place on record what I so strongly feel, and what has stirred my nature as nothing has stirred it before. I realize, of course, that I have often fallen far short of what might be expected of a model prisoner, but I think you will believe that I have not at any time transgressed intentionally; while I feel certain that you have always been willing to offset my shortcoming with my sincerity of purpose. Again permit me to assure you of my lasting gratitude, and a profound respect for you personally, which I shall carry with me to the end. I can only add the fervent hope that your life, of the greatest usefulness to the State, as well as thousands of unfortunates like myself, may be spared for many years to come. In any event, you have builded for yourself in the hearts of all your charges a monument which must endure always.

Very gratefully and respectfully yours,

* * *

For the edification of that imaginary committee of Pennsylvania legislators, let us make a few invidious comparisons. During 1907 the approximately 1,000 prisoners in the Maryland Penitentiary earned for the State about \$40,000, and for themselves and their families about \$34,000. During the same year the nearly 1,300 prisoners in the Western Penitentiary of Pennsylvania earned for the State about \$12,000 less than nothing, and for themselves and their families exactly nothing. At the time of my visit there were in the Maryland Penitentiary but three consumptives among the prisoners: 200 out of 1,296 for the Pennsylvania prison as against 3 out of 1,000 for Maryland, or fifteen per cent as against three-tenths of one per cent. To guard against possible unfairness, let us assume that the Maryland institution counts advanced cases only. Then we would have 87 out of 1,296 as against 3 out of 1,000, or over six per cent as against three-tenths of one per cent. Counting in only the advanced consumptives in the Pennsylvania prison, there were 157 on the sick list, while in Maryland there were only 18—over twelve per cent for Pennsylvania as against less than two per cent for Maryland.

"Let him that enters here leave hope behind" might fittingly have been inscribed over the portals of our penitentiaries of fifty years ago. In theory

they were maintained to protect society against bad men. The more these bad men were made to suffer for their crimes, the more effectively was society protected. Gradually it dawned upon us that these theoretically reformatory institutions were in fact universities in crime and hotbeds of disease—that these bad people were constantly coming forth more diseased in mind and body than when they entered, and correspondingly more dangerous enemies of society. Instead of being grateful to us for our violent reformatory efforts, they were coming out with a new cunning and a new hate to revenge themselves upon us. In a later and more enlightened day there came the joint theory that while the primary object of prisons was the protection of society, they should have as a secondary aim the reform of the prisoners. It has remained for us of to-day to show that these two objects are in fact one and the same. Prisons cannot and do not protect society unless they reform the prisoners to the fullest extent possible. Abuse and neglect not only do not reform prisoners, but have exactly the opposite result. And, finally, the more revoltingly uninviting prisons are, the more people tend to crowd into them—in other words, the more crime increases.

Good people do not enjoy inflicting suffering upon their fellows. Hence they held aloof from the prisons of former days, and left their management to the persons who were paid to perform that unpleasant task. Good people do enjoy helping their fellows. Hence they are to-day taking a more and more active interest in the management of prisons and the fate of prisoners. The modern and progressive prison warden no longer holds a position but one remove from that of the hangman in public esteem. He is a penologist who fills a difficult but enviable position in its constant opportunity for the highest social service.

There are still some prisons which are no better than was the average prison of fifty years ago; there are many more which are as bad in some respects; but there are a few which, like the Maryland Penitentiary, at least approximate what a prison should be—a hospital for the morally sick.

CONSERVATION AND RURAL LIFE

AN IRISH VIEW OF TWO ROOSEVELT POLICIES

BY SIR HORACE PLUNKETT

This is the first of four articles in which the author discusses the scope and aim of Mr. Roosevelt's rural life and conservation policies, their intimate relation to the farmer, and the Co-operative Movement as a practical method of promoting agricultural prosperity. In a letter to Mr. Bryce, the British Ambassador, Mr. Roosevelt declared that in the matter of the Country Life Commission "we Americans owe much to Ireland and to Plunkett in the work we have been doing in the United States." Sir Horace spent ten years in cattle ranching in Wyoming and farming in Nebraska. After his return to Ireland from the United States he devoted much time and effort to the reorganization of agriculture on the co-operative system and to the foundation of Government assistance to agriculture and industry. He was a member of Parliament from 1892 to 1900, and for the next seven years was the chief officer of the Department of Agriculture for Ireland.—THE EDITORS.

I AM asked by The Outlook to write upon conservation and rural life, which its distinguished contributing editor presented to the world as two of his "policies." The term implies politics, and politics has for most people a meaning as far removed from what Mr. Roosevelt had in mind as are the conceptions of my sporting neighbor in County Dublin, Mr. Richard Croker, from those of my older acquaintance Aristotle. My subject has essentially no party significance, and will, of course, be so treated. It emerged from its long sleep in the last Administration. It is equally the concern of the present, and will be of future Administrations. In 1908 the conservation idea brought every State in the Union into consultation with the Federal Government—brought Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Bryan on to the same platform. Outside of political life a National Conservation Association has been formed (with that foremost leader of civic thought, President Eliot, at its head) to organize public opinion in favor of the needed legislation and administration. In the same fruitful year, which will be memorable for the Conference on Conservation, the Country Life Commission was appointed to provoke discussion upon a question more complex and no less important. But familiarity with the superficial facts gives to the country life idea a deceptive simplicity which obscures alike its inherent importance and its intimate relation to the sister policy.

I purpose in these articles, written at a

time when public opinion newly formed is awaiting plans for public action, to offer to the readers of The Outlook some thoughts of a foreign observer upon these twin policies. I feel strongly that the decision of the issues raised in the great stock-taking of National resources and searching of the National conscience, upon which the mind of the United States has embarked, must profoundly affect not only the future of the Republic but the progress of Western civilization. My main conclusions are that the two policies are interdependent and must be considered together, both in a diagnosis of the conditions and in their treatment; that the farmer, now the chief waster, must become the chief conservator; that this will require a reconstruction of rural life; and that this reconstruction, while social and political in its larger aim and ultimate result, must be primarily economic in its method.

Much that is not obvious would follow from the acceptance of these propositions. I feel, therefore, that it is incumbent upon me to give some account of the experiences which have produced the point of view from which I write. By happy accident I have had unusual opportunities of observing a wide range of conditions, human and material, which are the subject-matter of the conservation and rural life ideas. My interest in these two policies is due to the fact that they embrace political, social, and economic problems, the study and working out of which in my own country happens to be the task in which I try to justify my existence.

In 1899 a bill was introduced into the British Parliament for adding to the machinery of Irish Government "a Department of Agriculture and other Industries and for Technical Instruction for Ireland." During the ensuing seven years I was the officer chiefly responsible for the organization and setting to work of this institution, whose purpose and functions are sufficiently indicated by its somewhat cumbersome Parliamentary title. For the last thirty years, commencing with ten years as a ranchman along the foothills of the Rockies, I have had business interests in the Western States. As a student and worker upon the social and economic problems of Irish country life, I have studied rural conditions over a wider area in the United States than my business engagements demanded.

While I was a Government official I continued to run across the Atlantic for my annual holiday. The study of American conditions and institutions was helpful to me in my departmental work, and brought me to Washington. On one of these visits, in the winter of 1905-6, I called upon President Roosevelt to pay my respects and to express to him the immense obligation I was under to some members of his Administration. I wished especially to acknowledge my indebtedness to that veteran statesman Secretary Wilson, the freshness and vigor of whose work and ideas seem to increase with advancing age. Mr. Roosevelt questioned me as to the exact object of my inquiries, and when I told him, he asked me to come again and discuss with him more fully than was possible at the moment certain economic and social questions which had engaged much of his own thoughts. He was greatly interested to learn that in Ireland we have been approaching many of these questions from his own point of view. He made me tell him the story of Irish land legislation and of recent Irish movements for the improvement of agricultural conditions. Ever since his interest in these Irish questions—to *the* Irish Question we gave a wide berth—has been maintained on account of their bearing upon his policy of rural life.

More than any other man with whom I have discussed the problems of rural life Mr. Roosevelt grasped the paramount im-

portance of the human factor, which often presents the closest analogy where there is the widest diversity of physical conditions. And not only did we become more and more impressed with the extent to which this is the case as between Ireland and the United States, but I was able to show, as I will now explain briefly to the readers of *The Outlook*, that circumstances have arisen which have made the economic strengthening and social betterment of the Irish farmer a matter of urgent Irish, British, and Imperial concern.

Ireland is passing through an agrarian revolution. There, as in many other European countries, the title to most of the agricultural land rests upon conquest. The English attempt to colonize Ireland never completely succeeded nor completely failed; consequently the Irish never ceased to repudiate the title of the alien landlord. In 1881 Mr. Gladstone introduced one of the greatest agrarian reforms in history, which it was hoped would settle the Irish Land Question once for all. He set up an independent tribunal, with power to determine what was a fair rent for the tenant to pay the landlord. As long as this rent was paid, the tenant could remain in perpetual occupation; if he wished to vacate his holding, he could sell to the highest bidder his occupation interest, to which this legislation had given a very substantial value. This boon of fair rent, fixity of tenure, and free sale—the three F's, as they were called—was certainly a bold attempt to put an end to a desolating conflict centuries old.

The scheme failed; not, as I think, so much from its inherent defects as from the circumstances of the time. A new factor, foreign competition, chiefly from the newly opened tracts of virgin soil in the New World, led to a fall in agricultural prices. Improved and cheapened transportation, together with processes for preserving produce fresh over the longest routes, soon showed that the new factor had come to stay. A bad land system on a rising market might succeed better than a good one on a falling. So, single ownership in the landlord, and dual ownership as provided by Mr. Gladstone, having both failed, public opinion reverted to the course recommended forty years ago by John Bright, and single ownership by the

occupier of the land was decreed. Several minor experiments in land purchase with the help of State credit having succeeded, in 1903 Parliament finally decreed that sufficient money should be provided to buy out all the remaining agricultural land. In a not remote future a billion dollars will have been advanced by the British Government to enable the tenants to purchase their holdings, the money to be repaid in easy installments over a period of some seventy years.

Twenty years ago it was foreseen that things would take this course, and a few Irishmen conceived and got to work upon what has come to be Ireland's rural life policy. The position taken up was simple. What Parliament was about to do would pull down the whole structure of Ireland's agricultural economy, and would clear away the chief hindrance which had obstructed economic and social progress. But upon the ground thus cleared the edifice of a new rural social economy would have to be built. This work, although it needs the fostering care of Government, and especially liberal facilities for a system of education intimately related to the people's working lives, belongs mainly to the sphere of voluntary effort.

The new movement, which was started in 1889 to meet the circumstances I have described, was thus a movement for the upbuilding of country life. It followed the lines of the formula which Mr. Roosevelt adopted in his Message transmitting to Congress the Report of the Country Life Commission—better farming, better business, better living. We began with better business, which consisted of the introduction of agricultural co-operation into the farming industry. To this part of the threefold scheme of rural progress I shall return later. Here I may say that we gave precedence to it because we could not develop in unorganized farmers a political influence strong enough to enable them to get the Government to do its part toward better farming. The plan succeeded, and we got the department I have named above. That department is constituted mainly for the purpose of giving to the Irish farmers all the assistance which can be legitimately given by public agencies and at public expense. The assistance consists chiefly of education.

But education is interpreted in the widest sense. Practical instruction to old and young, in schools, upon the farms, and at meetings, lectures, experiments, and demonstrations, the circulation of useful information and advice, and all the usual methods known to progressive governments, are being introduced, with the chief aim of enabling the farmer to apply to the practice of farming the teachings of modern science. Better living is sought by using voluntary associations, organized primarily for business purposes, for social and intellectual betterment. Other organizations having no business aim are encouraged to do similar work. Above all, a redirection of education in the rural schools in order to make country life more interesting and attractive has got to be thought out, both in Ireland and America.

These details will, I hope, have a more than personal relevance and importance. They were necessary to support an opinion, based on my American and Irish experience, that, while in the more richly endowed New World Republic the problems of rural life were coming within the range of Governmental policies, in Ireland, a country almost wholly dependent upon its agricultural resources, the problem is obviously one of national existence, and its solution has become a matter of extreme urgency, owing, as I have shown, to a combination of economic changes and political events.

After this somewhat lengthy digression, I return to my studies in Washington, the purpose and character of which I have already explained. In these years there came into my life another remarkable personality. To the United States Forester, Gifford Pinchot, I owe my earliest interest in the conservation policy. In counsel with him I came to regard the two policies here discussed as one organic whole. So I must say here a word about the man who more than any other has inspired whatever in these articles may be worth printing.

I first met Gifford Pinchot in his office in Washington in 1905. I was not especially interested in forestry, but the Forester was so interesting that I listened with increasing delight to the story of his work. I noticed that as an administrator he had a grasp of detail rare in an idealist,

and a mastery of method which is not usually found in men who have had no training in large business affairs. I thought the secret of his success was a love of work and sympathy with workers which have gained him the devotion and enthusiastic co-operation of his staff. It is, however, as a statesman rather than as an administrator that his achievement is and will be known.

When I first knew the Forester, I found that already the conservation of timber was but a small part of his material aims: every National resource must be husbanded. But over the whole scheme of conservation a great moral issue reigned supreme. He stuck affectionately to his job, but it was not to him mere forestry administration. In his far vision he seemed to see men as trees walking. The saving of one great asset was broadening out into insistence upon a new test of National efficiency. The people of the United States were to be judged by the manner in which they applied their physical and mental energies to the development and conservation of the natural resources of their country. The acceptance of this test would mean the success of a great policy for the initiation of which President Roosevelt gave almost the whole credit to Gifford Pinchot.

There is one other name which will be ever honorably associated with the dawn of the conservation idea which Mr. Roosevelt elevated to the status and dignity of a National policy. In September, 1906, Mr. James J. Hill delivered what I think might be characterized as an epoch-making address under the title of "The Future of the United States." This address presented for the first time in popular form a remarkable collection of economic facts, which formed the basis of conclusions as startling as they were new. Let me attempt a brief summary of its contents.

The supply of coal and iron, a prime factor in the Nation's industry and commerce, was being exhausted at a rate which made it certain that long before the end of the century the most important manufactures would be handicapped by a higher cost of production. The supply of merchantable timber was disappearing at a much more rapid rate. But far more serious than all other forms of wastage

was the reckless destruction of the natural fertility of the soil. In the total result the National economy will, according to Mr. Hill, work out in some such way as this: Within a period for which the present generation was bound to provide, this veritable Land of Promise would be hard pressed to feed its own people, while the manufactured exports to pay for imported food would not be forthcoming.

This sensational forecast was no purposeless jeremiad. Mr. Hill told his hearers that the danger which threatened the future of the Nation could be averted only by the intelligence and industry of those who cultivated the farm lands, and that they had it in their power to provide a perfectly practicable and adequate remedy. This was to be found—if such a condensation be permissible—in the application of the physical sciences to the practice and of economic science to the business of farming. It is significant that this great railway president opened his campaign for the economic salvation of the United States by addressing himself not to politicians nor professors, but to a representative body of Minnesota farmers.

Lord Rosebery once said that speeches were the most ephemeral of all ephemeral things, and for some time it looked as if one of the most important speeches ever delivered by a public man on a great public issue was going to illustrate the truth of this dictum. In spite of the immense burden of great undertakings which he carries, Mr. Hill repeated the substance of this address on many occasions. It seems strange that his facts and arguments should have remained unchallenged and yet unsupported by other public men. This fact alone seems to me to emphasize the necessity for stimulating public debate upon the conservation issue.

Mr. James Bryce, the British Ambassador, speaking recently at the University of California, said: "We can all think of the present, and are only too apt to think chiefly about the present. The average man, be he educated or uneducated, seldom thinks of anything else." But I think there are special circumstances in the history of the United States which account for the extraordinary unconcern for what is going to happen to the race

in a period which may seem long to those whose personal concern fixes a limit to their gaze, but which is indeed short in the life of a nation. After the religious, political, and military struggles through which the American Nation was brought to birth, there followed a century of no less strenuous wrestling with the forces of nature. That century stands divided by the greatest civil conflict in the world's history; but this only served to strengthen in a united people those indomitable qualities to which the Nation owes its leadership in the advancement of civilization. The abundance (until now considered as virtual inexhaustibility) of natural resources, the call for capital and men for their development, the rich reward of conquest in the field of industry, may explain but can hardly excuse a National attitude which seems to go against the strongest instinct of the whole animal kingdom—that of the preservation of the

race. It is an attitude hitherto attributed to my own countrymen, as illustrated by the question asked of an earlier advocate of conservation by a mythical Irishman, "What has posterity done for me?"

The last time I saw President Roosevelt—it was on Christmas eve, 1908—he expressed his hope that when the more picturesque incidents of his Administration were forgotten, public opinion would become friendly to his conservation and rural life policies. I ventured to express my confident belief that he would not be disappointed in this aspiration. Already the authors of the conservation policy have the immense satisfaction of seeing a general agreement arrived at that the present generation, while enjoying the material blessings with which not only nature but the labor and sacrifices of their forefathers have so bounteously endowed them, shall have due regard for the welfare of unborn generations.

GUARDING THE POOR MAN'S SAVINGS¹

BY JOHN HARSEN RHOADES

AS a symptom of the prevailing trend towards paternalism that to-day more or less characterizes the disposition of our Government, the postal plan for conserving the savings of the masses through the agency of Federal authority continues to enlist the sympathies of the people. It is small wonder that public interest is aroused when we note the many post-offices conveniently distributed for the collection of deposits, and the fact that the poor man's savings will be protected by the United States Government. There is little doubt that, if the question were put before our people to-day, nine-tenths of the voting population of the United States would favor a postal savings system; and yet, in reality, inasmuch as it is a technical banking subject, nine-tenths of the people, at the moment at least, are incompetent to pass judgment upon the question.

The postal savings bank, properly organized, would be of service to the American people; but in attempting to establish such a system we are confronted with this perplexing problem:

What will the Government do with the funds received?

When this question is satisfactorily answered, the postal savings bank will be welcome. It is a question, however, that can be answered neither by the average citizen nor by the average man in Congress. It is one that requires the services of the financier, for it is a banking proposition. It has been a financial problem of long standing, but so far remains unanswered, and I fear it will remain so for many years to come; nevertheless, it is fully as important as that of convenience and safety.

Briefly put, there is small doubt of the desirability of the postal savings bank; that is conceded. Nor is there any danger that it will conflict with the present

¹ Editorial comment on the subject of this article is made on another page.—THE EDITORS.

savings bank system. The question is emphatically one of feasibility.

Ultimately, should the system be established, many millions of dollars will be in the possession of the Government to be kept constantly invested. Yet the knowledge required for wise investment is in itself a science to be obtained only after years of experience. Would it not, then, be injudicious to place in the hands of inexperienced and ever-changing Government officials (unless investments were confined to the Government bond) the grave responsibility of investing this enormous sum?

If investments could be limited to the United States bond, the postal savings bank might be as successful in this country as in others, but this is impracticable, for our debt is small; furthermore, about eighty-five per cent is owned by the National banks, and the floating supply is selling at a prohibitive price. If the Government debt be increased for the purpose of furnishing an investment field—although in times of peace the wisdom of such a procedure would be questionable—what assurance have we that deposits will not increase to that extent where the demand for bonds will not constantly exceed their supply? We must not forget that the guarantee of the United States Government will be most alluring. The progressive increase in postal savings deposits, which is sure to occur, is an important factor which must be considered at the start. Such a predicament is faced by England, and, although her debt is large, her postal savings banks are often operated at a loss. Is it not apparent that we would be forced to meet a similar, if not a more serious, situation at an early date? If, on the other hand, we permit Federal authority to invest in other than Government bonds, we are confronted with that lack of experience essential when investing large sums of money. If we thought it advisable to add State and municipal bonds to the list of investments, it would still be only a matter of time before the demand would outstrip the supply. Moreover, such a policy would lead to State and municipal extravagance.

The plan of a prominent Senator to establish postal savings depositories,

whereby funds placed with the post-office are to be subsequently deposited by the Government in the nearest National banks at two and a half per cent interest, for the present would, in the judgment of the writer, be a vital mistake; banking and currency reform must logically precede such a scheme. President Taft, in one of his recent utterances, has described the present monetary system as a patched-up affair. Surely, we should not at this stage propose to add another patch to the crazy quilt.

Senator Carter is of the opinion that, while the public desires the postal savings bank, the bankers alone oppose it; but since he cannot compel the National banker to accept the savings deposit with its prior lien and other impracticable features, the success of his plan necessarily requires the co-operation of the bankers. It is perhaps pertinent to add that on matters pertaining to banking our Congressmen should heed the views of our financiers.

Many sections of the United States are still in the initial process of development. Money saved in such localities belongs to those localities, and should remain there for the purpose of developing their industries. This is an economic truth of vital importance. Under the Senator's scheme, how long would funds remain in the nearest National bank? Only so long as rates were remunerative.

The fact remains, however, that our savings bank service at present is restricted to a limited territory and is inadequate to our needs; for, although the advocates of the postal bank may fail to recognize the savings deposits resting in the various banking institutions throughout the country, yet, unless these accounts be invested under rigid laws, the commercial bank is not the proper depository for such funds. The commercial bank is a money-making institution. The savings bank should be divorced from any such purpose. Conceding, therefore, the inadequacy of the service, but believing that the postal savings bank, for the present at least, is impracticable, and not adaptable to our form of government nor to our present banking policy, the question presents itself, What course shall we pursue? There appear to be two:

First, segregate the savings accounts in the National and State banks and trust companies, and enforce by State and National law their investment in restricted securities, in a case of insolvency the investments to be sold for the benefit of the savings depositor, thus establishing the savings bank, with its wise investment laws, within the bank. The plan is advocated by the American Bankers' Association.

Second, perfect and extend the present benevolent savings bank system.

Let us for a moment consider the character and scope of the savings banks with which we are most familiar.

The benevolent savings bank is a non-stock institution; its officers and clerks receive compensation for their services, but the trustees give their assistance gratuitously. The law governing the investment of funds—an indispensable law to the institution for savings—is rigid. It is the general spirit and purpose that depositors shall receive all benefits arising from their deposits, less that sum of money which is essential for necessary expenses and for the maintenance of an adequate surplus or guarantee fund to insure solvency. From a humble beginning, in 1816, the system has grown until to-day in the State of New York alone there are 138 banks, with deposits amounting to \$1,376,000,000. Can any one doubt the success of such a system and the justification for its extension?

The question deserves particular attention, for a preconceived idea prevails that to extend our ideal system into the Western and Southern States would be impossible. It does not seem impossible. Why should it be more difficult to incorporate a benevolent savings system in the State of Montana to-day than it was in the State of New York a hundred years ago? Are there no philanthropic men in the West and South? Are there no bankers who can discern the trend of the public mind toward the postal savings bank? It is claimed that men cannot be found who will co-operate in the management of an institution from which they can gain no pecuniary profit. Which principle demands the greater philanthropy, the postal savings bank, that compels every individual to be philanthropic to the extent of

guaranteeing the deposits of a few, or the benevolent institution, that requires of a few their services for the benefit of the many? However, if philanthropy does not exist, tender the trustees reasonable salaries, based upon the amount of deposits under their care; as a matter of fact, most men will render better service when compensation is received. The additional expense would have little or no effect upon dividends; but, should it do so, it is well to remember that the object in view is the necessity of keeping intact the original sum.

Let us consider the respective merits and demerits of the postal and benevolent banks. The postal savings bank, through the guarantee of the United States Government, offers absolute security to the savings depositor, regardless of what the Government may do with the funds; but it obliges the Government, the people at large, to guarantee the deposits of a certain class, the losses to be met, if necessary, by taxation upon the entire Nation. The benevolent savings bank, when operated under proper laws, also offers absolute security to the depositor, and, furthermore, tenders larger dividends, through its greater earning power, and demands little service from the trustee.

The postal bank, it is true, could offer conspicuous advantages, through the use of the post-office. Still, it is not necessary to proceed to an extreme in the desire to encourage thrift and entice hoarded money into circulation. The benevolent institution to-day receives many deposits through the mail, and, if needful, could establish branches wherever desirable.

Those who favor the postal bank appear utterly to ignore a particular service rendered by the benevolent institution, a service of boundless value. The latter, due to the sixty-day notice that in all fairness may be required upon withdrawals and to the trustees' local knowledge of real estate values, is permitted to, and can safely, invest a portion of its deposits in the real estate mortgage, an investment which is most conducive to the upbuilding of a community. It is seen at a glance that funds are thus kept strictly within the territory in which they have been deposited, and where they justly belong.

The fundamental principle involved in the incorporation of the benevolent institution is simple, so simple that it is surprising that the Western and Southern States have not adopted it. Years of experience have proved that in competent hands money can be safely invested in gilt-edged securities, including real estate mortgages, Government, municipal, State, and railway bonds, and sufficient income derived therefrom to meet running expenses, establish a guarantee fund, and credit at least three per cent interest to each depositor's account; in fact, in those States where the rate of interest on mortgages is high it is probable that three and one-half or possibly four per cent could be credited; but in paying high rates of interest the danger would be in attracting deposits other than those of a strictly savings nature. The investor's deposit is most undesirable, for it is certain to be withdrawn at inopportune times, to the possible detriment of others.

It is only proper that the benevolent system should be protected on all sides by the law. Under our present State laws the greatest peril is possible insolvency, resulting through a protracted decline in the market value of a bank's purchases, coincident with the automatic increase in deposits through interest credited. This peril was not foreseen when the system was founded, for it was believed that securities proper for savings investments would depreciate but little in value, nor was the automatic increase in deposits taken into due consideration. Recent experience has shown that even the highest grade investments are subject to severe market fluctuations. Therefore the law should restrict the rate of dividends until a proper surplus has been reached and maintained, so that, to the best knowledge and belief

of the trustees, the principal of all depositors may be constantly kept intact.

The benevolent savings institution in its purpose spells conservatism. Wherever established, a conservative financial policy has been born. Its influence has been beneficial. Many a railway has been encouraged to issue a strongly fortified bond that it might receive the benefit of the savings bank market. With its sixty-day notice upon withdrawals, it has been in the hour of stress a pillar of strength to the banking community.

Federal authority in some cases is undoubtedly desirable, but the Nation should be educated to the simple truth that, with our ever-changing and often inexperienced Government officials, until it has been proved that our bankers are incapable of serving the needs of the public the Government should refrain from experimenting with the banking enterprise.

An obligation rests to-day upon our State Legislatures to enact in their respective States such laws (and they should be most carefully drawn) as will encourage the formation of benevolent savings institutions. It is the duty of the bankers to second such efforts, for the hour has arrived when our bankers must curb their desire to increase deposits for their own institutions by accepting what is commonly known as savings bank funds. Conceding the wisdom of the opposition to the postal savings bank system, it is up to the opponents to furnish the people with proper savings facilities. The people justly demand ample and adequate protection for their savings, and our bankers must rise above petty selfishness and recognize their demands. The public are deeply interested in the postal savings bank, and Congress is but voicing public sentiment.

THE NEW BOOKS

Definite evidence of the opinion that the work of George Meredith has permanent value and is likely to have a permanent place in English literature is furnished by the beautiful Memorial Edition, which is to include not only his novels, stories, poems, and essays, but a good deal of new material, much of which, the publishers assure us, has not appeared in any form. Interest will be awakened by the announcement that this new material includes a novel, "Celt and Saxon," and an unfinished comedy, "The Sentimentalists," and, in the volumes of short stories and essays, a number of incomplete articles. There is a serious question in the minds of many as to whether George Meredith was an artist or a great novelist in the sense in which Balzac and Thackeray were great novelists; but that he had extraordinary insight into character, brilliancy and vitality of thinking, penetration, and pungency of style, even at his worst, there is substantial agreement. His work belongs on the higher range of intellectual achievement. It is possibly too intellectual to be thoroughly artistic, for the fundamental element in art is not intellect. Mr. Meredith was also a poet, with a faculty of getting outside the conventions and in contact with the ultimate sources of power which made him one of the most original writers of his time. The gallery of his portraits includes some of the most fascinating, complex, and original women in English fiction, and at moments he had almost a Shakespearean quality of comprehending the feminine character and describing it. His work is crowded with ideas, penetrated with the ripeness which comes from broad and generous culture, and vitalized by independent convictions. It constitutes a criticism of life of almost unique importance. The new edition, which is to be complete in twenty-six or twenty-seven volumes, and which begins with "The Shaving of Shagpat" and "The Ordeal of Richard Feverel," has the dignity, solidity, and elegance which ought always to characterize the physical aspect of such work. The illustrations, which number sixty or more, include reproductions of scenes associated by Mr. Meredith with many of his novels and poems, a picture of the house in which he resided, and a number of portraits. They will also include an interesting group of reproductions of many of the original illustrations which accompanied Meredith's novels and poems in magazine form, and which were drawn by some of the most distinguished artists of the day. (The Works of George Meredith. Memorial Edition. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Each \$2.)

Readers of The Outlook may remember the article published some time since by Admiral Chadwick on the situation in Morocco, with special reference to the interest

of Spain in that country. The article seems doubly interesting now that this writer's portly volume on "The Relations of the United States and Spain" has been published. He recounts step by step the positions taken by Spain in the New World up to the day when a conflict with the United States became inevitable. Our Spanish War was indeed, as Admiral Chadwick says, the final act in the struggle for supremacy between the Anglo-Saxons and the men of the Latin race in North America. In this struggle Philip II, Elizabeth, Drake, Howard, Chatham, and Washington all had a part. "The expedition of the Great Armada; the murderous early struggles in Carolina and Florida; the seven years' war which drove France from the American continent, were but acts in the drama." This is all true, but we are sorry that this critic did not make his history more exhaustive by giving fuller attention to Spain's attitude during our colonial days. He does, however, point out pertinently just why, during those days, the racial unlikeness between Anglo-Saxon and Spaniard had an influence over the relations of men which was bound to lead to divergence. At the same time he makes just tribute to the great qualities of the Spanish race, as shown in the exploration of America and in the missionizing of savage races, surpassing for a century and a half any similar work done by any other race. Though the basis of much of this energy may have been a thirst for gold, and though no great part of the Spanish migration had for cause such motives as those of the founders of New England, the Spanish energy of those old days must remain, as Admiral Chadwick justly says, one of the marvels of accomplishment. Our historian also points out a striking analogy in the decadence of the Roman and Spanish empires; as did Rome, so Spain sent her lieutenants to rule provinces and to build fortunes in greed and oppression. Yet, when all is said and done, "the Spaniard has also left much of the spiritual in the lofty courtesy, temperance, and the strong and kindly feeling of his race for which the Anglo-Saxon will be the better man." This discriminating and kindly sentiment is evident in all the text—over-detailed as that text often seems to be—whether Admiral Chadwick discusses Spain's attitude during our Revolution, or before that as to the Floridas, or when South American independence was recognized, or during the early Cuban irritations, or during those later and more complicated irritations which led to a loss of Spain's American dominion. Admiral Chadwick points out with unsparing severity that this last is due largely to Spain's besetting sin—procrastination; but he would have us believe that the kindness, courtesy, and simplicity of the Spanish character may be regarded as some offset to the want of the

more energetic qualities on which modern life lays so great store. (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. \$4.)

Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford is one of the most prominent men in Washington, with a gift for public speech which has added to his professional reputation a very considerable popular reputation; but the slender volume "Dorian Days," unless *The Outlook* is misinformed, is his first venture in verse and is the fruit of a generous classical culture. Two-thirds of the volume are devoted to Greek subjects. Many familiar figures reappear in these pages—Apollo, Orpheus, Marsyas, Artemis, Helen, and Venus—and the ancient and ever-beautiful background which lies behind Greek thought and art is very charmingly sketched. Judge Stafford has a sensitive feeling for the classical form and the classical sentiment. He has also command of the happy phrase, the fortunate word, with definiteness, restraint of emotion, and a cleanness, so to speak, of workmanship which harmonize happily with his themes. If now and again the romantic modern feeling escapes the classical bounds, it must be remembered that the modern poets have been few who could bring themselves entirely within the self-imposed limits of the Greek view of life and the Greek expression of that view. There are many happy lines which bring the antique flavor with them, such as:

"By many oarless waters we have come,
Dim coasts, and islands with far-shadowing peaks,
And moving floods from the dark wilderness,
And one Infernal gulf in thundering seas."

And one comes upon other happy phrases, like "the savory steam of upturned soil," "where the sweet night-fallen acorns hide." A single poem, taken almost at random from this little volume, has a more personal note and reveals its quality:

"LOVE RESURGENT"

"My love no longer loves me—let me die!
The glory is gone out upon the hills,
And the gray downfall of its ashes fills
The old bright places of the earth and sky.
Why should I wander up and down and cry
To every ghost of joy whose presence thrills
The heart of sorrow till his cup o'er-spills?
I will lie down upon my face and die.
One bent above him with resplendent wing:
'Twas not her love for thee set earth aglow;
'Twas thine own love for her—that still is thine.
Joy sent him like an arrow from the string:
'Show me the rough ways where her feet must
go—
I never loved before, O Love divine!"

(The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.25.)

An increasing interest is being taken in the influence of the various racial elements in our population. Chief among these elements is the German. So far as we know, the first work to deal authoritatively and exhaustively with the German's part in our country's upbuilding is comprised in two substantial volumes, just published, by Albert Bernhardt Faust, Professor of German in

Cornell University. His "German Element in the United States" is at once a piece of noteworthy historical research and a work of notably popular interest. A view of the old market square at Germantown, near Philadelphia, is the appropriate frontispiece to Professor Faust's narration of the history of the Germans in the United States. Following this, the author divides his investigations, as is natural, into several departments. First, he regards the German element with reference to its influence on our material development, considering particularly the prominence of Germans in agriculture, manufactures, and in various technical branches. Then comes a discussion of German political influence. Of course, in order to establish principles, the author sums up instances. Interesting illustrations are adduced to show, for example, the principle of German independence in the matter of voting. Then comes the German educational influence as shown in our schools and colleges. The cultural influence is next discussed, as disclosed in music, painting, sculpture, architecture, the theater, literature, and journalism. Another topic is the social and moral influence of the German element as indicated in "The Joy of Living" (a German influence when one thinks of distinctively German festivals, fairs, and frolics), the care of the body, philanthropy, and religious influences. Lastly there is discussion of such distinctively German traits as law-abidingness, honesty, persistence, industry, economy, love of labor, and sense of duty. The author's language, especially in his latter chapters, is impressive, but, as a whole, the otherwise excellent work might have been improved by greater vivacity and lightness of touch. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$7.50.)

Miss Caroline Hazard's "A Brief Pilgrimage in the Holy Land" was originally delivered in a series of short addresses to Wellesley College students. The character of the chapters is indicated by the fact that each one is preceded by a sonnet and closed with a brief prayer, in effect, though not always in form, a collect. They always connect the place visited with the Scripture event with which it is popularly identified, without, however, attempting to determine whether the identification is correct or not. In short, the book is poetic and devotional rather than scientific, a help to simple and sincere feeling rather than an addition to our stock of knowledge, fitted for quiet Sunday afternoon reading rather than for the teacher's text in a Bible class. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$1.25.)

Every day Mexico becomes of greater interest to us who live across its northern border. Thousands of our citizens now reside in Mexico and a billion dollars of our capital is invested there. The number of tourists in Mexico increases notably every year. Hitherto they have had as guides some more or less interesting descriptive book. Henceforth they may arm themselves with a really

adequate guide. The pocket size, color and flexibility of binding, Bible paper, typography, and compactness of Mr. T. Philip Terry's "Mexico" are precisely like one of Baedeker's familiar handbooks for travelers. On consulting the text, we find that a serious attempt has been made to extend the similarity also to the high standard for concise accuracy and adequacy set by Baedeker's guides. Of course the rapid changes characteristic of a new country do not permit the same accuracy and adequacy possible to descriptions of older countries. This may even extend to descriptions of men in a new country; for instance, Mr. Terry gives President Diaz's birth as 1830, but there is a popular belief that it occurred in 1828. After a long introduction, comprising a history of Mexico, an account of its resources, and necessary directions to the intending tourist, Mr. Terry plans a number of travel routes and tells the tourist where to stop and what to see. While the author summarizes an immense amount of general information about Mexico, the seeker for "atmosphere" will find, as in the use of Baedeker's guides in Europe, that there is need to supplement such handbooks by the various volumes of description indicated above. There is now a gratifyingly long list of these, as one may see by consulting the excellent bibliography in the present volume. Mr. Terry's text is, of course, accompanied by many maps and plans in colors. His book is indispensable to the tourist. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. \$2.50.)

Dr. Horton, of London, to whom most readers of *The Outlook* need no introduction, takes in his "Great Issues" a wider range than in his preceding volumes. From his customary theme of religion and its sacred Book he passes out into the fields of politics, sociology, philosophy, science, literature, and art. Whatever he touches he brightens—everywhere the graceful writer, the polished scholar, the progressive thinker, the champion of humanity. He tells any who say, "Let those care for religion who like it; morality is enough for me," that only in their crude state are religion and morality apart; in their full development they are identical, and the main purpose of human evolution is to accomplish their identification. In his rare blending of the critic and the mystic Dr. Horton is one of the most helpful leaders of religious thought, though not yet fully free from forms of thought which criticism is fast antiquating. (The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.50.)

The Church of Scotland never had a greater spiritual leader than the late Principal Rainy, whom Mr. Gladstone pronounced "unquestionably the greatest of living Scotsmen." An unworldly, humble-minded, prayerful Presbyterian pastor, called by the Church in troublous times to vindicate her spiritual liberty, he became a guide to the national conscience amid the confusing voices of worldly ecclesiastics and fanatical dogma-

tists, and won the reverence of all genuinely religious men, together with the posthumous eulogy which the Prime Minister pronounced upon him in Parliament as a great statesman. The two octavo volumes of his Biography, by Mr. Patrick Carnegie Simpson, are also a history of the Free Church of Scotland for the last half-century, so closely was his life as her leader identified with hers. Beginning with the story of the great Disruption in 1843, when the Church by heroic sacrifice freed herself from domination by the State, the biographer's material gives what has not till now appeared in print—an inside view of the cross-currents and crises through which her great leader's powerful intellect with Christian tact and patience piloted the Church. One of these crises, when the Church, hit by the tidal wave of the higher criticism, removed Professor W. Robertson Smith from his chair at Aberdeen in 1881, after five years of controversy, must be regarded as involving less discredit to the Church than has been imputed. It appears to have been largely determined, as in a similar celebrated case in this country soon afterward, by the personal equation. The tragedy of 1904, when a monstrous decision of the Supreme Court (the "law Lords"), soon overthrown by Act of Parliament, handed over the entire property of the Church to a rump of twenty protestants against the union effected with the United Presbyterians, gave the grand old man in his seventy-ninth year his final field and crowning success. On political as well as churchly and personal grounds it deserves the detailed account here given. As the biography of a maker of Church history these volumes command attention in all Churches, and especially in that American Church which is nearest allied to the Scottish. (Hodder & Stoughton, London.)

Occasionally a good book is published in unattractive form. These facts deserve note when the book is very good and the form very bad. The "Handbook of British Guiana," by Mr. George D. Bayley, of the British Guiana Civil Service, is good, because we need its authoritative information. British Guiana is a very interesting country, and there are very few books about it. But, alas! Mr. Bayley's six hundred pages are bound together in one clumsy volume and in a binding hardly to appeal to the fastidious. Still, the binding is not altogether inappropriate, for the compiler's text is singularly unpicturesque. He must have kept tight hold on his emotions to have been so unvivacious. Surely the physical features of his country might well make any one eloquent; there is, for instance, a waterfall nearly five times the height of Niagara! However, Mr. Bayley has summarized an immense amount of general and statistical information, and his book will be welcome as the "latest word" concerning a little-known region. (The Argosy Company, Georgetown, British Guiana.)



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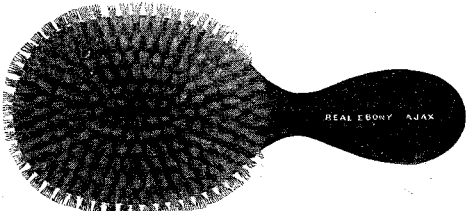
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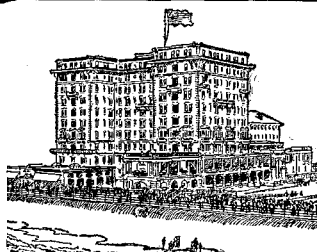
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